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Alia on New Election Law, Religious Freedom

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["The Consolidation of the People's Power and Perfection of the Entire Political System Stimulates the Democratic Development—Report of the Political Bureau Submitted by Comrade Ramiz Alia to the 12th Plenum of the Party Central Committee"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 7 Nov (ATA)—Under the Presidency of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the AWP [Albanian Worker's Party] convened on November 6-7, 1990.

In the name of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the, Comrade Ramiz Alia submitted to this plenum the report: "The Consolidation of the People's Power and Perfection of the Entire Political System Stimulates the Democratic Development".

Broad constructive discussions were made on the report. The plenum unanimously approved it and decided that the party organizations and working masses study it.

The Consolidation of the People's Power and Perfection of the Entire Political System Stimulates the Democratic Developments —report of the Political Bureau submitted by Comrade Ramiz Alia to the 12th Plenum of the Party Central Committee

This is the fourth meeting of the party central committee within this year. It is encumbent upon it to analyse the road traversed, to assess the changes that have occurred and to set the further tasks on the road to socialist democratization. This meeting I will discuss and decide in particular on how to perfect the political system, as a decisive link to guarantee the sound progress of all the social and economic life of the country.

Only 9 months have elapsed since the 9th plenum, which provided us with a more or less complete platform of the actual and perspective [as received] developments of our society. But the changes that have occurred are numerous. We may say that there is no sphere of social activity without being revolutionized. Prior to taking further steps on the road to democratization it is indispensable to make a general survey of the changes made.

The introduction of the new economic mechanism, the enhanced role of the cooperative yard through giving the peasants cattle and land, the reorganization of the services and handicrafts, encouragement of cooperative trade and the permission of the peasant market and the private work in services, the progressive remunerations for overfulfillment and a consolidation of material incentives, consolidation of business and social responsibility of the enterprise, the acceptance and guarantee of foreign investments; all these are a group of measures, an entire economic reform aiming at encouraging initiative and enhancing the responsibility of the productive subjects, a great transformation in all structures.

The positive changes carried out in the field of relations in production offer us the opportunity to draft a more scientific economic policy. They make up a realistic political-economic program we should carry further and the party should explain it unstoppedly.

Actually, the new economic mechanism is being experimented in about 100 enterprises. About 7,000 units of public services, handicraft, fruits and vegetables trade, of public food enterprise are now working on their own account. As a result of the increase of the low pay, the citizens get a supplementary payment fund estimated to about 500 million leks a year. The cooperative families possess now an area of land three times larger and the double number of cows. Work is going on to create a bank specialized for economic relations with the foreign countries and concrete steps are taken for cooperation with foreign firms in new forms.

Qualitative perfections have been made in the field of social relations as well. Appointment of cadres by the collective or contest [word as received], limitation of the duration in the same high post and of the mandate of re-election to the supreme party and state organs, the creation of the Ministry of Justice, establishment of advocacy since the stage of investigation and in the court, the amendments to legislation which adjust better the relations of the citizens with the state, their rights and free will, granting of travel passports, and the increase of contacts between the citizens and the foreign countries are achievements of an extraordinary importance which have promoted the processes of democratization.

The free participation of the collective in the meetings of grass root party organizations has placed the activity of Communists under the control of the masses and has brought to the fore their responsibility. The collective is now the highest authority with the right to decide not only on choosing the cadres, but also on the students' admission to the higher school but also on the appointment of the new cadre and on the most vital questions of the citizens. It is only the collective which judges upon such matters now.

In the domain of legislation too, we have acted in a dialectical way. Development has brought about development. A state which had just carried out the revolution, poor and always the target of the cold war, would start the realisation of the citizens' rights from what made up the base of dignity and personality of the man, from political and social equalities.

This correct policy of the people's power guaranteed jobs to all and liquidated the exploitation of man by man, it brought the cultural and educational emancipation of the people and radical improvement of their health. This policy established an equal political status for all the citizens with no distinction of race, region, belief and nationality, it achieved national unity as an indispensable condition for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the homeland. The realisation of these fundamental freedoms and rights created the conditions to realize to a higher degree those freedoms and rights, recognized broader as universal freedoms.

We have taken measures also regarding the perfection of the political system, aiming at enhancing the role of the elected organs and masses of the people. But there rises the need of a profound study to define better the relations between the party, the power organs and mass organizations, and to examine the possibilities for a more efficient functioning of all the political structures of our society. Likewise, it is indispensable the perfection of the election system of the people's councils and the People's Assembly, so that they further democratize and ensure a broader representation of various strata of the population in the power organs. Since this matter is the main object of this plenum, we shall dwell on it in details further on.

Concerning foreign policy, the aim has been a greater integration in the Balkan processes, in the European and world ones. To this end we have required the status of the CSCE member with full rights and ask for greater contacts with EEC, the normalization of the relations with the United States of America and the Soviet Union and others. So far, relations have been established with the Soviet Union. Talks have been also completed on the normalization of the relations with the U.S.A. and only the public announcement on the part of the U.S. Administration is expected. To the greater contribution of our country to the consolidation of cooperation on a broader scale testifies also the successful completion of the meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers in Tirana.

Concerning the Common Market and the CSCE, we have nothing new so far. As it seems, certain circles and governments use their consensus regarding Albania as pressure to dictate on our country various political recipes and conditions. Naturally, we have made and will do nothing under someone's dictate. Anyone should have it clear that the Albanian people have never put into auction their freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

Our attitudes on foreign questions respond to the changes occurring in the world. They made indispensable a broader active participation of our diplomacy, whose main goal is to safeguard and consolidate the country's freedom and guarantee the attained victories.

In the future too, we shall consistently follow the line we have defined. We are aware, at the same time, that different forces will try to hinder the promotion of democracy and to distort the image of the Albanian state on the international arena. Therefore, we shall adopt resolute stands and courageously defend the cause of the homeland, the cause of the people, the cause of socialism. In order to defend our free life we shall respond with all the means to anyone who dare touch these sacred things of ours.

The program of the party is strategic, hence it cannot be realised within a day, neither within a year. Naturally, this does not justify either backwardness or haste. The training of the party and people from the ideopolitical point of view should be to a higher level. Moreover, it becomes indispensable because, as the reality shows, the social psychology, the cultural and technical level of the cadres and the working people is not to the proper degree so as to respond to the demands set by the measures adopted in various fields.

Experience shows that practical results in every field have been defined by the level of preparation of the party, state organs and the working masses. Let us dwell on the events of July 2. It is a fact that the decision for granting the citizens passports was not understood well and in time by those who should implement it, and by many working people alike.

A contingent of youths rushed into embassies without receiving the necessary documents. Some of them were lured by the promise that the foreign world will welcome them. But soon they are realising that not paradise but disillusionment was lying in store for them there.

Four months have elapsed since these events, but strange enough, still not complete unique rules have been established for granting passports: Working people are going abroad without permission from their work centers; they return beyond the time limit without thinking that they may lose the work place, do not arrange the period of their travelling so that they accomplish the tasks they have to, something which runs counter to the laws, etc., etc.

There were misinterpretations also with regard to the cattle and land given to the members of agricultural cooperatives. The party instructed that these matters be solved by the peasants themselves, so that justice and order prevail. But in some cases, it was not solved correctly and efforts were made to damage the common property and the cooperative itself.

Neither the party organizations, nor the power organs or the presidencies of the cooperatives should remain folded-arms if someone tries to distort the directives and decisions. They should act more powerfully if someone tries to damage the common property and ruin the cooperative. These elements should be punished taking into consideration the opinion of the peasants, and through a strict observation of the statute. The cooperativist peasantry itself should safeguard their gains, life and future.

The measures we adopted for the democratization of the country's life and society were considered by some individuals as concessions, therefore they entitled themselves the right to violate the discipline at work, the rules, to stir up anarchy in production, to ask for blessings without increasing the productivity, etc. It is a fact that there were many absentees at work, especially during summer. The working class, the party and power organs should make more efforts so as to put an end to such phenomena. Democracy means order and work, it means discipline and culture. There can be no democracy without production. No-one has the right to abuse to the detriment of the society.

It is precisely this experience that convinces us to map out certain steps in the proper time and our entire propaganda should be more active so as to make clear to the working people the ideological and political content of the decisions, whereas the executive, state and economic organs should adopt in time the necessary technical-organizational measures. But we ought to forcefully stress that to plan mature steps does not mean slowness and procrastination. In the context of the measures we are adopting it is necessary to encourage the creative initiative, the revolutionary action.

The new concepts on economy, interests, on the working people collective state relations, are of no value without the new practices, without a general psychological and juridical, technical and organizational training. Herein should the party organizations start their work. This seems to be a simple job, but it should not be taken so easily, because amongst all transformations, that of psychology is the most difficult. The transformations in this field have to do with the formation, conviction and education of our men, with their customs, with the everyday life and work, with the tradition established for whole decades. A correct political decision can be adopted only through the party leadership, but the old psychologies and practices cannot change without the commitment of the whole people.

The old conservative mentalities become dangerous because of the fact that they often appear under the guise of principles. They leave traces and have their impact on the public opinion, because they cherish the idea that "we are making concessions and are diverting from the line," "are giving up socialism, etc. They consider the economic mechanism and decisions on the cooperativist yard, the measures in the field of social relations and some steps in our foreign policy, etc., not as a necessity of time, linked with the development of situation at home and abroad, but as changes in the party's strategy. Consequently the spirit of nonconfidence is enhanced, the importance of current developments regarding the safeguard and heightening of the attained victories is underrated.

It is clear that for those who cherish such ideas, economy, culture, politics, social life and everything is static, unchangeable, set once and for all. But the party has never been nor will it be dogmatic. It has triumphed because, being loyal to the socialist ideals, it has succeeded in coping with the arisen situations and circumstances, it has been dialectical.

The implementation of the tasks set to us call for a consistent fight against red tape. Despite the adopted measures, there is procrastination and bureaucratic stands in the work of the state and economic apparatuses. There are many clerks who not only are not distinguished for initiative and dynamism, but hinder the implementation of decisions. The party and power organs must condemn such stands and must avoid them. It is not the power that procrastinates the solution of problems, it is not the state organs that are bureaucratized, but some fusty clerks of the administration, who with their vices have nothing in common with the servant of the people, as our clerk should be.

The program of the party is no less hindered and damaged by the liberal concepts, whose bearers having in mind the circumstances of the country are inspired by foreign recipes; they consider the development of democracy and its process as denial of the class struggle, they consider the development of the market and application of the law of value as infringement of the unique functioning of economy and do not take into account how and to what extent are the people's power or freedom of the homeland endangered.

All the communists and patriots must exert their endeavours to the process the party leads to, so as to promote the decisions we have adopted regarding democratization. There is no set back. Neither will it occur in the future. This is the motto we should work with. The party will not allow the adoption of outdated stands, but at the same time it will never put at stake the freedom, independence, the power of the people and socialist victories. We will forge ahead on the road we ourselves have chosen and are convinced that this road will lead our country towards fresh victories.

Another factor that is hindering the process of the implementation of our program is lack of knowledge. The truth is that we pay much tribute to ignorance. There was issued the law on private work and market. This should by all means be accompanied with the imposing of taxes, as an economic factor and control means on the part of the state. But our economists particularly those of the Ministry of Finance have forgotten to reckon accounts and are delaying regarding the fiscal aspects of the mechanism of the market. Likewise there is inexplicable awkwardness and hesitation to know the contemporary forms of cooperation with foreign countries, etc. It is a fact that the state organs spend much time to formulate laws and the necessary rules after decisions are adopted by the party and People's Assembly. At present this is one of the major contradictions hindering the initiated work.

Laying the stress on the need of implementing the decisions we have adopted, naturally there is room for improvement and further progress. With the new economic mechanism the enterprise will undertake a series of social problems, which so far have been tackled with mainly or only by the state. Within them, with unified criteria, according to the economic potential, the enterprises will succeed in solving themselves such major questions for the relations of work as increase of working people's incomes, the employment of new able-bodied forces, the granting of incentives for innovations and rationalizations, etc.

The new economic mechanism affords to the enterprise the possibilities and the necessary conditions for profits. Every enterprise, too, must grant this chance to its own workers. Therefore we must proceed on the road that the workers' wage depend on the profit of the work center. At the same time legal conditions must be created so that self-financing be not formal, but fully implemented, not only in value as it is today, but also for investments, the structure of production, foreign currency ,etc.

Everywhere we must inculcate the conviction that self-financing is an alternative to profit but also to loss. This depends on the results of work. The new economic mechanism has a double character, for the producer and consumer, the enterprise and state, for the individual and the others. Here, too, in general there is unity of interests, but there might also be confrontation, especially in the case when profit derives not from the increase of labour productivity but from the redistribution of the same values.

At present our economy is under the pressure of three powerful factors: On it operates the state with its social policy, the people's consumption with growing demands and the enterprises and systems of production with the needs for investments and material and technical supply. They have been and will be financed by economy. But it is of importance to determine as objectively as possible the demands to which should be given priority and the scale of the fulfilment of their demands. In this meaning, the self-financing rules, however with a simple economic aspect, have a profound political and social content.

The fulfilment of the tasks we are faced with calls for the mobilization of all the forces of our society. Herein should the work of the party concentrate on, that is, on the correct understanding and enhancing of mobilization of the people. They must explain that the reforms that the (?party) has already undertaken in various walks of social activity are determined by the stage of development at present. They became possible due to the great transformations that have taken place in these 45 years of people's power, the incomparable progress in all the fields, the completion of the structure of economy, the uplift of the level of education and culture of the working people, the emancipation of their mode of thinking and living. They are a necessity of the further development of the country, of the technical and technological renovation and the promotion of the process of the intensification of production.

The establishment from the scratch of a multibranch industry imposed the need of concentrating the accumulation and investment resources, whereas their concentration mainly for renovations in technique and technology makes it necessary to use the financial incomes to a larger extent and directly where they are created. A small economy could be administered effectively and in a centralized way, but when its systems enter into multiplied and independent links amongst them, the enhancing of the initiative and possibilities of the base for self-management is indispensable .

The current initiatives of the party have been also inspired by the lessons we have drawn from our road. A retrospective glance on the road traversed enhances our belief in the achievements, but it makes us realize, that because of the lack of experience, historic circumstances and insufficient knowledge not always have we hit the mark and have chosen the most valuable alternative. We have said that our party has not made mistakes regarding its line, and this is true when speaking of its strategic line. But there has been haste, even mistakes.

Allured from the desire to step up the steps towards the future, we have implemented the policy of nationalizations without fully and naturally making use of the advantages of the property of the group, even underrating them. In this way the cooperativist yards reduced to minimum, whereas handicraft on the basis of group and individual was nationalized. In both cases there were more dominant the ideological motives than the economic factors, which as life proves were not mature for such an action.

On behalf of planning there was artificially narrowed the operation of the law of value and some objective economic categories as moral amortization, self-management, etc., were considered as a burden of the past on socialism and as phenomena of the right wing.

In combatting red tape, papers and formalisms, we considered as alien to us the fiscal system, diminishing the possibility for the society to exercise its right as owner of the means of production and control over the incomes of groups and individuals.

Through making absolute the traditional relations between the means of production and those of consumption, we have made extraordinary investments, especially on heavy industries. Often has the principle of self-reliance been conceived narrowly in concrete actions, something which has had its impact on a limited economic cooperation with the foreign countries.

Undoubtedly, some of the shortcomings and hasty actions derive from many practical solutions of the problems of socialism in the Soviet Union, China, or elsewhere, which have been considered as universal laws.

Recognition of these defects has long ago made us correct what has not been right. But the events in the Eastern countries made us reflect upon. The question arises: Has the world historic experience of socialism, which we have considered as reference point in our practice, been and is completely pure?

In [the] 60's we tried to find out the reasons that favoured the distortion of the system in the Soviet Union and laid the stress particularly on the bureaucratic manifestations in the Soviet party and state, etc. This enabled us to adopt measures so as to prevent such phenomena in our country.

But as it seems this is insufficient. It is necessary go deeper into analysis, so as to draw as many lessons as possible from the developments in the Soviet Union and the Eastern countries.

On the theoretical plane too, there are still pending problems, not completely explained. Such are: the relations of the state organs with the economy, the plan with the market, conviction with constraint, the class struggle with the national and people's unity, phenomena that do not deny each other, but evolve reciprocally from time to time. The theory of socialism is always in development and verification.

We should not fear the free discussion on these matters. A party which instead of discussion prefers to confine the problems, a party without a genuine inner democracy, without constructive debate, is doomed to failure. Likewise, our socialist society cannot develop without voicing its opinion freely. Our party has followed and will resolutely follow this way. But work and education, patience, creativeness and militancy are needed so as to attain always positive results.

Without a political order embodying the democratic development it would have not been possible to conceive and offer for application all those directives and decisions of profound progressive character with regard to the economy, culture, social life, legislation and foreign policy. As our society has been and is precisely such, the Party of Labour was capable of programming and leading the new stage of the all-round democratisation of the country's life,of initiating new reforms.

We have dealt with the role of the political factor other times too. The 8th plenum of the Central Committee, as we already know, was devoted particularly to the democratisation of the relations of the party with the masses. This plenum reiterated the idea that the leading role of the party in society is preserved neither through orders, nor through decrees, but through work, militancy, advanced thinking.

Our party has won and preserved its leading role since its founding, devoting all its activity to the interests of the people, mobilisation and organisation of the masses in the Antifascist National-Liberation War and the construction of the new life, socialism. Our party is the only political force that forwarded a clear program, elaborating the ideas and perspectives of development of new Albania. This is the reason the people accepted and recognises the party as the leading force, considering its line and directives as guidelines in every field.

In the current stage, the further strengthening of the party, through its emancipation, the enlivening of debate and democratic dialogue, the broad and effective withdrawal of the opinion of the masses regarding all the problems and tasks set by the time are fundamental tasks. The democratisation of the party's life should include the communists themselves, who should set their example, through work and not in words, in the lead of the democratic processes that are taking place in our country, including the organisational structures and its apparatuses, from the grass-root to the high organs, which should be freed from the erroneous concepts and practices, that often consider their work as competent organs in every field.

Precisely because it was aware of such a danger our party has continuously worked to place all its work under the public judgement of the masses. The resolute struggle against red tape, the persistency to strengthen militancy and moral values of the communists, the conduct of open meetings of the grass root organisations, etc., are result of this resolute struggle against red-tape. We have spoken extensively on these aspects of the democratisation of the party-people relations. This struggle continues and should continue vehemently onwards. But the danger of abusing power is eliminated in case in practice correct relations are established and preserved in the party's concrete activity with the other political and state subjects, the working class and working masse on the whole, in case it is taken into consideration which are the legitimate prerogatives of the party, what are the functions belonging to it in our social system.

Since the year 1972, in the Mat speech, Comrade Enver Hoxha underscored the thesis that the party does not enjoy unlimited rights. The Communists are a minority, whereas the people are the majority; the party is a part, whereas the masses the whole, he said in that speech. The party is duty bound to further elaborate this thesis, which is fraught with the democratic idea of dialogue, pluralism and thinking.

What should we bear in mind and apply into practice resolutely? The party should not give order and commands, it should not concentrate in its hands the prerogatives belonging to other organisms. It should not and cannot exert state power directly. It is exercised by the competent state organs, especially the representative ones, elected by the people themselves and which, according to our Constitution and our laws are bearers of the sovereignty of the people and state. The party's leadership and strength lies on the forwarding of ideas, programs, perspectives of growth which, being correct, well-studied and to the interest of the people, are reflected in the whole state activity.

Actually, in order to determine what the party should make and what the power should deal with and what should the economic organs do, we should be orientated by practice, by tradition. This is partially due to the fact that the tasks, functions and attributes of organisms making up the country's political management are not determined by law as they should. Partially this happens because the erroneous way of seizing the others' competences is followed instead of asking every one to carry out in time and well his tasks.

The party orientations and directives outline the principled framework on certain problems and domains. Proceeding from this the path is opened up for broad discussion, initiative, concrete proposals by the communists and others. This is how to express democracy, diversity of opinions, pluralism of ideas, concrete contribution of every citizen to decide on the destinies of the homeland, the fundamental questions of its present and future.

Pluralism of opinions with us has existed even in the past. The actual endeavour of the party aims at ensuring to it a sounder organisational base. To this end we should transform the existing social organisations into complete pluralist subjects, reconstructing their links and relations with the party and state. The social organisations should freely air their opinion, the opinion of the masses on every problem, be it associated with the social or economic questions,of the internal and foreign policy, on everything that has to do with the country's development. Making them subjects of elections too, according to the new law to be adopted, conditions will be created to the social organisations not only to voice their opinions, but also to uphold them and defend the interests of the masses they represent in all the power organs, down to the People's Assembly through their deputies.

At present, when our society is swept in a process of major democratic transformations, when the social organisations have gained a major political maturity and enjoy a specific authority in the masses, any practice and mentality, aiming at establishing a tutelage on them, treating them simply as instruments of the party, has a refraining effect, therefore we should combat resolutely to uproot it. The mass organisations, the Democratic Front, the trade unions, the Youth Union, Women's Union etc., as sociopolitical organisations have their individuality and personality, closely linked with the interests and aspirations of the masses they represent.

The enhancement of the role of the mass organisations, the assertion of their individuality and independence, is an immediate task. The social organisations should open up the way to constructive debate and the free expression of opinions. The discussion in a cultured way on various political and economic problems concerning the country, would lead to more rational solutions and the formation of the democratic education of the people, so necessary in the current developments in our country.

All these questions should be object of discussion and study of great responsibility. But, without waiting for the studies to be over, we should take measures to adapt ourselves to this spirit, in the political activities we are heading to.

The plenum is informed that the new elections to the People's Assembly must be conducted soon, taking into consideration the fact that the mandate of the current legislature expires in next February. The elections might be held during February of 1991, or at another period of time, as it would be decided upon by the People's Assembly in its meeting scheduled to be held a few days later.

Of special importance is the content of the law on elections. To this end, many consultations and discussions have been made with the participation of the working people of production, lawyers, representatives of the party and social organisations, state organs etc.

The general opinion has been that the new law ever better reflects the level of political development the current structures of our social system ensure and further instigates the participation and concern of the masses in running the country.

According to the draft-law worked out by the Presidium of the People's Assembly which will be submitted for final approval to the next meeting of the Assembly, a higher and more efficient degree of political democracy than till now will be guaranteed.

It comprises full conditions so that every citizen freely exercises his right to elect and be elected. The new law guarantees the secrecy of elections not only as a right, possibility, but also as a obligation.

The fact that the country's political and social organisations, such as the Party of Labour, the Democratic Front, the Youth Union, the trade unions, the Women's Union, the Writers' and Artists' League and the associations recognised by law, are proclaimed equal election subjects, ensuring a more pluralist representation of the masses in power, speaks of the deepening of the people's democracy. Each of them enjoys the right to forward its candidate in every precinct. The law does not recognise a preferable place to any organisation, the Party of Labour and Democratic Front themselves included. The preference will be determined by the electors in the elections directly. All these will make possible the renovation of the whole legislative power in Albania. The new elections to the People's Assembly will serve simultaneously as a practical verification of the authority of every political and social organisation.

The draft-law envisages and sanctions the presentation of more than a candidate for every polling centre and precinct, granting to the citizens the right to decide freely to the moment they go to the polling box. According to our tradition, the electors enjoy the right to propose candidates directly in the meetings with the people, having no need to be introduced by a certain organisation recognised by law. On the other hand, it is the first time that every citizen enjoys the right of forwarding the candidature as individual, in case he himself requires such a thing, certainly, after several conditions foreseen by the law are fulfilled, conditions which have to do first of all with the character and goals of the program, which should comply with the national interests.

The stage of the promotion of democracy is measured with the possibilities of the individual to express freely his view points with the conditions ensured to him to this end.

Our country has its own experience and traditions. With us democracy has been and is realised through the entire numerous subjects existing in our political system, through the Party of Labour, but also the mass organisations and various associations, through the economic organisations, such as the agricultural cooperative, but also of the discussion by the assemblies on village scale of the political, economic, social problems, etc.

Now we take a new, very great leap forward. Augmenting the election subjects, affording the possibility to the social organisations to forward their candidates for deputies, granting to every citizen the right to appear as independent candidate, as well as conserving the tradition that the electors propose candidates for deputy directly, in the meetings of the people, real, complete conditions are created for the expansion and implementation of democracy.

All the comrades are acquainted with the draft-law which was issued in the press too. I expect the plenum of the Central Committee will endorse it, being convinced that the new People's Assembly to be elected will be a clear expression of the democratic tendency and culture of our people. Being platform of the new democratic changes in this domain of the political system, the current election draft-law will accelerate the processes led by the party and will create new conditions for good development in all fields.

The election campaign we are faced with aims at the consolidation of the people's character of the power. It should bring about such a transformation that will respond to the transformations we have programmed in the field of economy, culture and other fields.

In order to strengthen the work of the state it is indispensable to undertake concrete actions in order to put on a new basis the relations between the elected organs and the executive ones and the apparatuses. Although the indispensability of enhancing the figure of the representative organs, their effective superiority over the executive ones, is raised time and again, we cannot say that this goal is realized.

It is indispensable that the role of the People's Assembly, as the supreme power organ in our country, further enhance. The main direction of the Assembly's work should be the increase of the law-making activity, which today is relatively limited, because the majority of the acts, especially of those in the form of decrees, are examined and approved by the Presidium. Likewise, the need rises for a broader activation of the permanent commissions and for the increase of their role, as well as for the strengthening of the Assembly itself, enlarging its competences over the whole activity of the government. The mode of Assembly's work, as well as a clearer definition of the place and function of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, as a collective presidency of the state, should be studied and materialized through special decisions, laws and regulations.

Besides these, it is necessary that actions be taken to overcome the practices that have curbed the role of the representative organs in relations to the executive ones and their apparatuses, both in the center and the base. Hence, it is indispensable that the question of the competences be reexamined with great responsibility, especially in order to guarantee the integrity of the grass root people's councils, to protect their competences from the interferences of the supreme organs, and even from the administrative interferences and of the economic organs.

The party, the power organs and the whole social opinion are aware of the need of putting their whole activity on fully defined legal basis. In other words this means that we should strengthen the juridical state. The law stands above all. No instruction, decision, order or authority exists above the law. The law might be incomplete, it might have even errors. Such weakness that can be repaired, pave the road to order, arbitrariness, subjectivism, phenomena that cultivate injustice and chaos and cause great social damages.

On the other hand, for the normal functioning of the legal state it is needed that the state activity be conducted only by the authorized state organs, be they elected or appointed for this aim. Our society should observe to the end the exclusiveness of the rights and competences the law recognizes to the steering organs.

Stressing the need of strengthening the juridical bases of the state activities we should point out that in general our society is not short of laws, but they should conform to the new conditions and above all should be known to the people, to make it possible to them to fully exercise their control. Those regulating norms and acts which define the responsibilities and rights of the state organs which remain in drawers or in closed circles impede this control. The experience shows that there where the competences are made public, the abuse of rights has been more limited.

A very important question we should discuss in this plenum of the Central Committee is the necessity of some changes to be made to the fundamental law of the state, to the Constitution. This is linked with some factors. It is firstly linked with the developments of our country in the past and in the future, with the objective changes occurring in the field of economy, culture and politics, with the improvement and promotion of democracy in all the spheres of the state and social life.

Bearing in mind the experience gained during the years that have elapsed since the approval of the existing Constitution we jump at the conclusion that the majority of the norms sanctioned by it have been fruitful and right. They have contributed to carry forward the socialist construction of the country. Fixing the fundamental achievements of our social order at that time, they represented the future and therefore they are relevant even today.

But at the same time it should be said that some norms of the Constitution did not justify themselves and did no longer respond to the requirements of the development .

The amendments to the Constitution are dictated also by the developments of the international situation. The need to broaden cooperation with the world, the participation on a broader scale in the various regional, European and global political processes, the ever larger economic agreements and exchanges, the participation in the various international organisations, which involve our country in some political and juridical engagements, demand that the respective articles of the Constitution suit the contemporary developments.

It is necessary that some new provisions be formulated in the Constitution or the existing ones be completed so as to better define the questions that have to do with the state and social organization, with the relations between the power organs and those of the administration, between the state activity and the economic one, etc. Likewise it is indispensable to reformulate those provisions we have amended special laws. [sentence as received] Such are those articles that have to do with the credits and joint ventures, those articles related to the citizen's freedoms and rights, etc.

The need for amendments to the Constitution should be forwarded to the People's Assembly, which has the right to decide on such a question. To this end it will certainly appoint even a special commission to make the necessary amendments, so that the Constitution with the respective changes be submitted for approval in one of the first sessions of the new Assembly that will emerge from the elections next February.

The commission that will make the amendments to the Constitution will be faced with many problems. The people's masses will discuss on them, as well. At this meeting of the Central Committee I wish to air some thoughts for at least three questions:

1. On the leading role of the party. This question has been and is of specific importance for the country's development on the socialist road. Therefore we have always worked and will work in this direction.

But this is realised neither by order, nor by the force of the law. We all witness the fact that our party, both in the past and at present, has won its leading role and its great political and social influence in the people not through legal norms, but in practice, through struggle, work, self-denial and adherence to the interests of the people and the homeland. The leading role of the party responds to our concrete reality. It is a fact that our first constitution contained no article to juridically express the status of the party, but this did not prevent it to have an indisputable leading role in the society for many decades on end.

We said above that we should strengthen the legal state. This not only does not negate, but on the contrary it strengthens the leading role of the party in our society, because the laws on which depend the whole activity of the state organs are a synthesis of the party's policy. Therefore the article that has to do with the party as "the only leading political force of the state, should be defined more precisely in the new constitution. [quotation marks as received] Defining more correctly the leading role of the party in our society one should take into account also the tradition, originality of the development of our country. In the struggle for national liberation and during the whole period of the great transformations, the party has been and is the political subject which at any time has represented the most active, more progressive, more patriotic force, closely linked with the interests of the people and the homeland. Hence the new constitution should reflect the status of the party, which with its program and line, with the work for the education and mobilisation of the masses, is the fundamental backing of the state for the flourishing and progress of the homeland.

The status of the mass organizations and the social ones should also be defined together with it in the constitution.

2. By special law we have decided to allow investments and cooperation with foreign firms and capital. This makes indispensable the amendment to the Article 28 of the existing Constitution.

The aim of this article has been and is that no one be allowed to put chains to the national freedom and independence, that the sovereignty of the people over their ground and underground assets be not infringed upon. We should preserve this great aim in the future, too.

Therefore, making amendments to this article, both the cooperation with the foreign firms, the financing of the projects or the receiving of the respective credits, should be made only in case they are not associated with political conditions and do not violate the sovereignty of the people and the freedom of the homeland. It is indispensable to bear this in mind while reformulating this article.

3. Another important question the Central Committee might discuss upon is to define more accurately in the Constitution the attitude to religion. Since the beginning, our people's state has been laic, that is, detached from the church. As a concept we have adhered to the idea of the renaissance patriots that the belief of the Albanian is Albanian national spirit putting on the first plane the cause of the national unity. This stand has been and is correct.

But the Constitution of 1976 contains formulations which go so far as to declare atheism as a state norm. Hence the freedom of consciousness is violated, because, just as it is anyone's right to be atheist, so he must not be prohibited to believe.

Through the amendments to our legislation, we treat the question of religious belief or its opposite as a question of consciousness of every man. But the Articles 37 and 55 of the Constitution prohibit the existence of the religious institutions, which, as is known, were closed down upon the initiative of the masses, especially of the youth. Hence, there is a contradiction to be settled, bearing in mind the principle that it is the people that decides upon such questions. We cannot oppose the opinion which is for closing down the religious institutions just as we should not ignore those might want their opening. In any case, as until now, let the people decide.

Making this stand more accurate in the Constitution does not mean that the communists and others give up atheism and the right to make an atheistic propaganda. The right to atheistic propaganda is as much democratic as the right of those who want to believe in religion.

Raising the above questions, which have to do with the improvement of the political system, I wish to say that these problems need special attention. The party and various organizations have to carry out a great explanatory and convincing work for the constant education of the people so that they understand correctly every decision, so as to avoid haste, passions, anarchy.

Naturally, care does not mean clumsiness and marking time, the worse so, setback. Care means explanatory work, it means [word indistinct] and revolutionary action to implement the directives of the party. We should march step by step, but always looking forward. Having attained the first goals, we have prepare to attain fresh objectives. We must never march too much ahead of the masses or slower than them so as to lag behind them. In both cases there are dangers, which might bring about grave consequences for the people, for the freedom and independence of the homeland, for the socialism.

We must not forget that the key to success is linked with the economic situation, with the progress in this field, with the results in production. Without the necessary economic base neither democracy nor the universal rights can be realized. Therefore, the greater the results in production, the better the fulfillment of the plans, the firmer the discipline at work, the stronger the homeland, the more the democratization of the life advances.

For this reason at this moment we cannot but throw a glance at the situation and developments in the economy. We are on the eve of closing the year and the whole five year plan, we are on the eve of full application of the new economic mechanism.

If we make a full analysis of the present economic situation of the country we should admit that it is on the limits of an extraordinary state. All the main indices of the economy are below last year's levels, except for the fund of wages and retail goods turnover. We had to curtail investments and other expenditures estimated to hundred millions of leks so as to prevent the disequilibrium in the state budget, something that has never occurred in our finances. Such a psychology has been created, the propaganda included, where all speak and reckon accounts what will they profit from the application of the new rules, but few are those who preoccupy themselves with the ways to augment the production for the society.

It is not worth seeking reasons when it is clear to everyone that the economic results of this year are not good. Drought had its impact, it brought about the energy crisis, it seriously damaged agriculture and brought about great losses in foreign trade. But this factor has its impact irrespective of our desire, as is the case of other factors, such as the delays and hindrances the foreigners impose on us, often out of political motives, etc. The question is what are we doing, how should we work, at what rates, mobilisation and organisation, how do we cope with the new situations? We should admit that (?low) mobilisation of the forces is noticed in the work centers and in the countryside, to put it mildly, there is an unpardonable lack of discipline and liberalism.

Why should these shortages, these weaknesses which are entirely subjective be added to the objective difficulties? What do the state and economic organs do, why do not they strengthen control, why do not they apply rigidly laws and labour code when they come across cases of weakening the discipline?

Why do party committees stay [with] folded arms? These moments ask more than ever for the consolidation of the work of the party organisations and of the mass ones to mobilise the people in order to lead various processes and tendencies of economic development to a positive direction. Every worker, in the town and [the] countryside, must understand very well that the country's progress depends on our work. Nothing comes by itself, as a present donated by someone.

Therefore, let us mobilise all our forces to improve the work in every sector. Alongside the traditional factors favouring the process of improving the work, the freedom of self-activity in enterprises, business, the share the working people have in the enterprise's profit, as well as a series of other possibilities offered by the levers of the new economic mechanism, should prove the concrete economic superiority in production and services.

The party Central Committee should bear the responsibility for this situation and must set down to work with new drive and confidence in our own forces. This example, the militant commitment of all the communists, will be the guide for the implementation of the current tasks, for translating into life the decisions of the plenum. The economic and political problems in our reality are more and more interlaced with one another, therefore let us consider and solve them as a whole.

Long live the party!

BSP's Lilov Voices Support for Coalition

AU0711222390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] We support the economic reform program, despite the fact that it is burdensome, harsh, and severe, because we believe that it is the only way for us to emerge from the present situation, stated Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], at a news conference he gave in Varna yesterday, 5 November.

We will fight as a party to defend the values of democratic socialism in real life: liberty for all—today; justice—today; and democracy—today. We will support the government which implements this program, and will criticize it if it fails to defend the position of the socially weak. The issue is a just distribution of the burdens. This is our party's stance.

Aleksandur Lilov confirmed the BSP's viewpoint that it would not only accept, but even welcome a coalition government, because the economic reform program could not be implemented by a single-party government. The fulfillment of this program requires national unity, parliamentary support through consensus, and a strong government.

Aleksandur Lilov also met with Mr. Voyno Voynov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Varna People's Council, with representatives of the creative and artistic intelligentsia, and with BSP members and sympathizers in Varna.

BSP Leadership Discusses Coalition Consultations

AU0711210090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] A meeting of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council and the socialist members of the Grand National Assembly took place on 7 November. The issue of forming a coalition government, capable of conducting rapid and radical reforms, or a single-party cabinet which will make independent efforts to overcome the crisis, was discussed. The participants also discussed the exceptionally important role of the political consultations and talks and the specific tasks of the BSP and its parliamentarian group.

The participants pointed out that the best solution is to form a coalition government, in which all political forces will cooperate in resolving the fateful national tasks.

Political Consultations on New Cabinet Reported

AU0711180090 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 7 Nov 90

["Attempts To Avoid Parliamentary Crisis"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 7 Nov (BTA)—The political forces represented in parliament are holding consultations mediated by the president. Their leaders are expected to meet tomorrow. The composition of the future cabinet and its program are under discussion.

Last night the head of the socialist government announced that he will stay in his job if a consensus is reached on his government program and suggested a coalition. The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) said it was prepared to form a government together with other political forces, provided it dominated the cabinet and rendered up a prime minister. The striking students and workers press for the resignation of the Socialists' government.

The outcome of the consultations will be clear on Friday [9 November], according to MP's representing different political forces. The Socialists often speak of a coalition without elaborating but are reluctant to give up the prime ministership, invoking their parliamentary majority. Meanwhile there has been talk of the possibility to form a new majority in parliament, including the current opposition and part of the Socialists. Some of the latter, however, do not believe this is feasible, and others think the matter can be raised after the consultations. A senior BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] functionary told the BSP that talks were under way to form a centrist bloc but the BSP was laying down conditions for that.

The MP's interviewed said they were willing to find a way out of the situation so as to avoid a parliamentary crisis and new elections. Some of them fear that such a development may lead even to a civil war.

Students Continue Sit-In Despite Zhelev's Appeal

AU0711151590 Sofia BTA in English 1444 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 7 Nov (BTA)—Despite the president's insistence, the students stand fast, but are divided.

The sit-in strikes continue at Sofia University, at the Medical Academy, at the Ruse Technical University. According to the strike press centre, a hunger strike is under way in Svishtov and the students of the Theatre Art Academy are on strike, too. Strikes will be declared in the Plovdiv institutes of higher learning.

Late last night, discussing the president's appeal to call off their strike, the students declared that they will not give in. "He must be a rallying figure and could not have possibly taken a different stand," a strike committee member said. Others believe that Dr. Zhelev has had important talks with Prime Minister Mr. Lukanov and may have been pressured to react in this way.

The independent trade unions support the students' political and trade-union demands and find that the strike is legitimate, the trade unions' leader Prof. Dr.

Krustyo Petkov said yesterday. The students hope that today the confederation will issue a formal declaration.

The other trade union association, Podkrepa, was noncommittal yesterday, a strike committee member said. It backed the students' trade-union demands but was less categorical about the political ones. Recently Podkrepa has often drawn criticism for engaging in political activities and now it is playing it safe, the strike leaders believe. Podkrepa will provide the strikers with food, blankets and fax machines.

The students are disappointed at the lack of categorical support from the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). They say that at its meeting last night the Parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces did not take a stand on the strike. "The SDS is now too busy with the government and is trying to win over 50 or 60 Socialist MP's." Since the strike began, opposition leaders and MP's have been coming to see the students. Late last night Mr. Kiril Dunev MP held a dispute with striking students. "Bulgaria now doesn't need destabilization. New elections would leave the country without government for another three or four months," he said.

The Students Movement for Democracy opposes the strike as a form of protest.

Late last night the members of the Federation of Independent Students Societies gave up the sit-in. Their representatives, however, stay on in the university today.

The strikers assess as a provocation the arrival late last night of members of the counterterrorism unit after an anonymous phone caller tipped them off about a bomb planted at the university. The students did not comply with the request of the security forces to vacate the building for 24 hours during the search for the explosive device. No bomb was found.

The students have not yet taken a formal stand on yesterday's announcement of the Prosecutor General's Office which said that the sit-in violated the law.

University teachers who have joined the striking students have issued a declaration demanding the resignation of the socialist government.

The administrative and the teaching services of the university keep operating.

Private Taxi Drivers Threaten Blockade in Sofia

AU0711140090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Nov 90 p 2

[Boris Kostadinov report]

[Text] Our main demand is for the government to arrange equal monthly fuel quotas for private and state taxi drivers. This was stated in the declaration of the Union of Private Taxi Drivers which was adopted at a rally held on 5 November in Sofia's Aleksandur Nevski Square. The union, which organized the rally, belongs to the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation.

Because the majority of us get no gasoline at all for our taxi work, our right to work is violated. Unless our main demand is satisfied by 12 November, the more important crossroads in the capital will be blocked for one hour on 13 November. If the government fails to solve the problem, states the declaration, the whole capital will be blocked on 20 November.

Burgas Petrochemical Workers Revoke Strike Threat

AU0711184090 Sofia BTA in English 1746 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Burgas, 7 Nov (BTA)—The strike scheduled to break out at the Burgas Petrochemical Combined Works has been called off. After seven-day negotiations between the combined strike committee representing 10,000 workers and the government and members of the Grand National Assembly, an agreement was reached meeting all demands raised by the strikers.

The strike committee received assurances from the government that urgent measures will be taken to normalize the supply of crude oil required for the normal operation of the works.

The strike committee spokesman specified today they now that the strikers and the government had reached agreement, the strikers had withdrawn their demand for the resignation of the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

Strike Leader Demands That Government Resign

AU0711222090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 6 Nov 90 p 1

[Text] On the evening television program "Around the World and at Home" ["Po sveta i u nas"] on 5 November, Ivan Naydenov, chairman of the strike committee at the Burgas Petrochemical Combine, called for the resignation of Andrey Lukanov's government, as it has exhausted its possibilities.

"We want a government," said Ivan Naydenov, "which is able to feed us, clothe us, and deliver enough petroleum to enable our installations to operate. If our legitimate demands are not satisfied within three days, we will start to completely shut down the production capacities of the Burgas Petrochemical Combine."

According to a report by Bulgarian Television, the petrochemical workers of the Dimitur Dimov plant in Yambol are also joining in this action.

Independent TU, Podkrepa Break Off Relations

AU0711193090 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 7 Nov 90

["Trade Union Associations Fall Out"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 7 Nov (BTA)—As from today, the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria breaks off its contacts with the leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. This decision of the official trade unions association was occasioned by a statement aired on national television last night which the independent trade unions found contained insulting qualifications. The decision is further motivated by "numerous cases of absurd claims and gross invective" on the part of the Podkrepa leadership and by a "campaign to discredit the confederation in the international trade union movement."

The decision warns the government and the employers that the independent trade unions will not negotiate with them together with Podkrepa.

The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria terminated all agreements concluded so far between the two trade union associations and recommended the same to its constituent federations and unions.

The confederation's municipal coordinators have been ordered to take legal action to evict the Podkrepa bodies from the premises made available by the confederation as a gesture of good will and confidence in trade union solidarity.

Alternative Socialist Party Reform Declaration

AU0711192590 Sofia BTA in English 1814 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 7 Nov (BTA)—The Political Council of the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) demands the resignations of all holders of senior positions of responsibility before November 10, 1989 (from the top municipal to the top national level), irrespective of whether they were members of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party or non-party people.

In a declaration circulated to the BTA today the ASP emphasizes that the appeal is not addressed to a specific political organization and does not intend the political elimination of a definite party. The ASP is convinced that this is the only way to blaze the road to a national consensus, to rally all political forces in the interests of economic stabilization and to restore the confidence of the democratic world in the radical changes under way in Bulgaria.

The ASP calls on all parties, organizations and movements, on the trade unions and the students, on all citizens to support this demand and, in case it is not met by November 10, it appeals for a one-hour warning strike on November 12 and for a general political strike from November 15.

President Zhelev Interviewed on Reform Process

AU0711211590 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 90 p 5

[Report on interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Momcilo Stojanovic; place and date not given: "Quiet Bulgarian Changes"]

[Text] Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a scientist and philosopher who until two months ago was only a leader of the opposition bloc, the Union of Democratic Forces, became the most popular politician in Bulgaria in a very short period of time.

[Stojanovic] The first anniversary of the overthrow of the totalitarian regime of Todor Zhivkov is going to be here soon. How do you see the period in which pluralism has again been reinstated in Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] The changes that have taken place in Bulgaria following the overthrow of Todor Zhivkov are substantive and profound, and touch every area of life. They are obvious to all impartial observers of political life in our country. The totalitarian communist state is in the process of being dismantled in every respect. Bulgaria has taken a resolute step toward democracy. We have a multiparty system, freedom of speech, press, and association, and a democratically elected parliament with an opposition. The Army, militia, judiciary, and prosecutor office are in the process of being depoliticized. We are implementing economic reforms whose aim is privatization and the development of a market economy, and we are changing our foreign policy. In other words, we are conducting a quiet and sensible revolution, we are moving from totalitarianism to democracy. Naturally, there are still many more things that need to be done.

[Stojanovic] You are the leader of the opposition. The Bulgarian Socialist Party has the majority in the parliament. How do the authorities function in this duality?

[Zhelev] I am a former leader of the opposition, if the leader of the opposition bloc, the Union of Democratic Forces, may be called that. Now I am the president of the Republic, a president that is not, as stipulated in the Constitution, a member of any party. The government and the majority of the deputies in the parliament belong to the Bulgarian Socialist Party, but with mutual respect and loyalty from both sides one can achieve many useful things for the country. Our mutual relations are determined by the Constitution, which must simply be respected.

[Stojanovic] At the moment the parliament is discussing the economic plan of Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov. To what extent do you support the reform concept of the socialists' government? How do you yourself see the way out of the economic crisis in which Bulgaria has found itself?

[Zhelev] I think that Lukanov's program is in many way many similar to the economic program of the Union of Democratic Forces. I will support most resolutely all political and economic decisions intended to turn Bulgaria into a modern democratic state with a modern market economy.

Such a program, however, should be linked with a political reform and with guarantees for its implementation.

[Stojanovic] Shortly after you had been elected president of the state, you traveled to the West, to France and the United States. Does this mean that in the future Bulgaria will primarily be oriented toward the West, or did you go there to obtain economic assistance?

[Zhelev] Economic aid is very important, but was not the only purpose of my visit. The West is the cradle of democracy and modern civilization with its political, cultural, and moral values. It is only natural that we should seek a priority position of the West in our foreign policy.

[Stojanovic] While you were in the West, Prime Minister Lukanov visited the USSR. How do you see the future relations with the Soviet Union which had been the closest and the strongest partner of the People's Republic of Bulgarian until recently?

[Zhelev] Relations with the Soviet Union should be built on the basis of respect, cooperation, and mutual interests. We do not intend to "break" our relations with the USSR. They should simply be put on a new foundation, a foundation different from that which existed in the last 45 years. I think that this will be in the interest of both countries, especially in view of the fact that the Soviet Union is also moving toward democracy, even though at a slower pace.

[Stojanovic] Many things have changed in the Balkans recently. How do you see cooperation on our peninsula, especially cooperation with Yugoslavia? On you return from the United States, where you met with Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, you stated that all peoples, including Macedonians, have the right to self-determination and that one should not deliberately mix historic and political aspects of the national question, particularly stressing the Macedonian question. The previous authorities in Bulgaria unfortunately invoked history too much and too often. How do you see the future relations with the Macedonians in both Yugoslavia and Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] Whatever said, the Yugoslav peoples are closest to us in terms of language, mentality, culture, and general views. There was a popular joke during the period of totalitarianism: Greetings to fraternal people of Angola and the people of neighboring Yugoslavia. In fact, we are people-brothers. Cooperation among the Balkan people should rank first in our foreign policy. One should first establish good relations with neighbors and only then regulate his relations with others. Concerning the Macedonian question, I have repeatedly said that it should be settled on the basis of the self-determination of the inhabitants of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, without pressure and without manipulations. To talk of a Macedonian nation in Bulgaria would be tantamount to disregarding the actual state of affairs. Now, in the conditions of real democracy in our country, when everyone can freely determine his national identity, the facts show that only few people in Pirin Macedonia have come under alien influence. An invented problem should not be allowed to sour state-to-state relations and the atmosphere in the Balkans.

[Stojanovic] One question that is still outstanding is the question of what will happen with Todor Zhivkov who has only been isolated.

[Zhelev] He should be taken to court and made to account for what he did.

[Stojanovic] Finally, allow me to ask you how you, as a man whose vocation is philosophy, feel being at the very top of the pyramid of power?

[Zhelev] It is best you did not ask me this.

No Action on Health Minister's 30 Oct Resignation

AU0711172090 Sofia BTA in English 1629 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 7 Nov (BTA)—Professor Ivan Chernozemski, who handed in his resignation as Bulgaria's minister of health on October 30, does not yet know whether it has been accepted.

The minister motivated his resignation by the "reluctance of the state bodies to cooperate with the health-care service." Whoever holds the health portfolio can do nothing under the circumstances, Prof. Chernozemski believes.

Prof. Chernozemski is an internationally renowned oncologist. He served in Mr. Andrey Lukanov's previous cabinet, too. When he took the ministerial post in March, he told the press that he had no ambitions to hold it for long. "One hundred days will be enough," he said then.

Investigation Reveals Officials' Private Companies

AU0711210190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] At the instruction of Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and in connection with interpellations voiced at the Grand National Assembly, the Ministry of Internal Affairs conducted an investigation, which revealed dozens of cases in which people holding official state posts, directly or through proxies, have created their own private companies. This phenomenon has acquired large dimensions during the second half of the year, and it has engulfed many branches of the national economy. Leaders of banks have been induced to allocate credits to the private companies and their managing councils.

The findings have been sent to the Chief Prosecutor's Office with the recommendation to conduct additional investigations, and if necessary, to initiate appropriate judicial proceedings.

Public Body Monitors Housing Allocation in Sofia

AU0711100290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Nov 90 p 2

[Boryana Buchvarova report]

[Text] The "Home for Everyone" public movement does not allot apartments, but it has put a stop to abuses in the allocation of about 200 apartments, thanks to the right to monitor the allocation of housing in Sofia, which it won last April during talks with the leadership of the Sofia City People's Council. People who really had nowhere to live obtained the homes, say the leaders of the movement.

The volunteers of "Home for Everyone" pride themselves on the fact that not one, but three plots of land will be allocated for the construction of apartment blocks for young technical workers. This offers hope to 1,500 people. At the moment the movement is investigating the housing stocks held by the Sofia enterprises. This issue is of interest because at its January session the Executive Committee of Sofia City People's Council decided that officially owned apartments, which are not occupied within three months, should be handed over to the municipalities.

"We must monitor the state, from the allocation of an individual apartment to the formation of its housing policy," said Ventseslav Genchev, chairman of "Home for Everyone" and a psychologist by profession. He cited the UN's global strategy for providing shelter, according to which housing issues must be jointly resolved by the government and public organizations.

Thus the movement, which many associate only with the protests at Sofia City Hall, has outlived the time of protest actions. Now it is thinking of setting up a foundation with the same name to assist in solving housing problems. It is also calling for the establishment of a cooperative bank for house construction. At its first national conference, which ended recently, a discussion took place on an overall strategy in the period of transition to a market economy. "We will present this strategy during our talks at the Presidency and the Council of Ministers, concerning which we have received assurances," said Ventseslav Genchev.

Recently the price of a square meter of living space in Sofia has reached 1,500 to 2,000 leva (according to the movement's information.) This puts a price of 150,000 leva on a 100-square-meter apartment. Sofia's reserve housing stock is exhausted, and the small percentage of rented apartments in the country are being sold off. For many of the 327,000 waiting on the housing list (from categories 1-3), the hope of obtaining their own home is becoming an increasingly remote possibility.

Religious Denominations Granted Judicial Status

AU0711194590 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 7 Nov (BTA)—The Committee for Affairs of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and the Religious Denominations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that the following religious organizations have been granted a juristic-person legal status: the Union of the Evangelical Pentecostal Churches, the Union of Seventh-Day Adventists Union of Churches in Bulgaria, the Union of Evangelical Congregational Churches, the Evangelical Methodist Episcopal Church, the Union of Evangelical Baptist Churches, the Bulgarian Evangelical Church of God, the Church of Seventh-Day Adventists Reformist Movement (canonically affiliated to the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists Reformist Movement) and the Universal White Brotherhood Spiritual Brotherhood.

Bulgaria Suggests Setting Up UN Center in Sofia

AU0711205090 Sofia BTA in English 2003 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] United Nations, 7 Nov (BTA)—Bulgaria suggested that a United Nations Information Center be set up in Sofia. Such an institution would help Bulgaria to take advantage of the enormous information capabilities of the United Nations in the process of its own democratization, the Bulgarian delegate told the UN Special Political Committee. He pointed out that in its new information policy Bulgaria needs the assistance of the international information organizations and suggested that Bulgarian experts be included in the UN regional programs on information.

Prime Minister Lukanov Leaves for Talks in France

AU0711203490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] On 7 November Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed for France. He will conduct talks with business representatives on the eventual admission of Bulgaria as member of the European Community. Mr. Lukanov is expected to meet French Prime Minister Michel Rocard.

Reportage on Lyuben Gotsev's Visit to Italy

WA0811115290

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Lyuben Gotsev to Italy, including reports on his talks with President Francesco Cossiga, please see the Italy section of the 7 November West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Reconnaissance Army Group Returns From Gulf

LD0711165690 Prague CTK in English 1357 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 7 (CTK)—A reconnaissance group of the Czechoslovak Army is returning today from Saudi Arabia where it inspected conditions in which a special army unit would operate if invited by the Riyadh government to come and help the Saudi population in case of a chemical weapons attack, Czechoslovak Defence Ministry officials said at a press conference here today.

They said that this trip of the group (November 3-7) did not mean that the special unit of 200 men would be leaving for Saudi Arabia soon. They are waiting for an invitation from Riyadh.

Answering a CTK question whether any talks were being held within the "Pentagonal" group on military cooperation or exchange of experience in making changes in the armies, the Defence Ministry officials said that talks have so far been on bilateral footing. They referred to the November 4-6 visit of Italian defence minister to Czechoslovakia, and this year's visit paid to Czechoslovakia by the Italian chief of staff. They added only that prerequisites existed for broad cooperation between the armies of Czechoslovakia and Italy.

The officials spoke about the developing cooperation of the Czechoslovak Army with the armies of Germany Spain and France and also Poland and Hungary within the search for a Central European identity. Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrvosky starts on November 15 a three-day visit to Germany to hold talks with his counterpart Gerhard Stoltenberg and inspect several units of the Bundeswehr. A group of 20 Czechoslovak officers will soon attend a four-day course at the Coblenz centre for the internal management of the Bundeswehr. Cooperation between Czechoslovakia and France is to have similar forms.

The officials said that Czechoslovakia wants closer relations with the Western European Union [WEU], and appreciated the November 5-6 talks held in Czechoslovakia by a WEU delegation, led by Secretary General Willem van Eekelen.

Chemical Defense Units To Return

LD0711165990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Saudi Arabia has officially invited the special Czechoslovak chemical defense unit to the crisis area in the Persian Gulf. This information was given to journalists shortly after the return from the Middle East of Major General Jiri Jindra, chief of the Foreign Relations Directorate of the Federal Ministry of Defense.

He went on to say that all the financial costs arising from our unit's stay will be met by the Saudi Arabian side. The precise date of departure will be set in the very near future by intergovernmental agreement.

Unit's Tasks Noted

LD0711185890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] A reconnaisance group of the Ministry of National Defense, which was to find out about conditions for the deployment of a Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit in the Persian Gulf region, returned from Saudi Arabia this afternoon. Here is editor Lubomir Zumar with more details.

[Zumar, in Slovak] Major General Jiri Jindra, head of the 18-member delegation of the Ministry of National Defense, told reporters that he brought an official invitation from the Saudis for Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky which will set an exact date, by way of intergovernmental agreement, for the departure of the anti-chemical unit. He also said that all financial costs related to the stay will be met by the Saudi Arabian Government. General Jindra said that the purpose of the trip was to negotiate the conditions for the stay of our anti-chemical unit and to familiarize the staf officers with the places of deployment of this unit and with the general conditions of its stay.

The Czechoslovak unit is to take part in anti-chemical and humanitarian assistance in the rear support area, approximately 160 km from the Iraqi border.

The delegation was surprised at the great cordiality and the fact in the evening after its arrival it was received by Crown Prince Khalid, who is also commander in chief of the allied forces on Saudi Arabian territory.

Speaking about the mode of transportation of more than 200 volunteers, Jindra said that this issue is not quite clear yet, but it is possible that it will be possible to transport them in a U.S. Galaxy transport.

Asked whether he thinks that the Czechoslovak unit is well prepared for what awaits it, General Jindra answered that we can be satisfied with its training. However, long transfers for the 450-500 km distance still have to be practiced.

Ministry Official Dismisses Sudeten German Demand

AU0611164790 Prague PRACE in Czech 3 Nov 90 p 1

[Report on an interview with Foreign Ministry official "who does not wish to be named" by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] On Thursday [1 November] our daily published the content of an interview with F. Wittmann, representative of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, which dealt with property issues. In their phone calls to our editorial office, PRACE readers have been expressing concern over the Sudeten Germans' views expressed in this interview. What is the position of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Official] The Sudeten German Landsmannschaft is an association of compatriots and not an institution with which the Czechoslovak Government ought to negotiate. Its members can only see the wrong done to them, but not the guilt of the Sudeten Germans for the breaking up of the republic [after the Munich Agreement of September 1938]. By their pronouncements they are trying to maneuver our authorities into a discussion which would immediately set off a whole carousel of other questions. Should we perhaps demand compensation for the lives of the Czechs, Slovaks, and members of other nationalities living on our territory who perished in World War II? This affair has been closed and settled long ago. The Czechoslovak side is not going to take part in any such debate. As a matter of fact, even FRG Government officials show no interest in raking up this problem and have not raised any property or territorial claims.

OF Rules Out Compensation

LD0611172590 Prague CTK in English 1521 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, 6 Nov (CTK)—The council of the Civic Forum (OF), the largest political force in Czechoslovakia, said today that it does not count with a return of physical property to the Sudeten Germans, moved to Germany after the defeat of nazism in the years 1945-48 under the Potsdam accords of the four victorious powers, and their heirs.

The OF council said in its statement that inhabitants of regions close to the border with Germany have been showing concern in recent weeks for their property which they took over after the Germans were moved out. "We are not and will not be able to redress all wrongs in our history. Easing the effect of the wrongs or compensation for losses cannot go beyond the date of the Communist coup on February 25, 1948," the council said, and added that "any (Czechoslovak-German) top-level talks on possible financial compensation must in no way apply to physical property in the border regions. This attitude does not change our opinion that the principle of collective guilt (concerning the transferred Germans - ed.) is inadmissible in a democratic society."

Fritz Wittmann, the vice-chairman of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, was reported to have said in Bonn yesterday that the Landsmannschaft insists on either restitution in kind or compensation (for the property of the transferred Sudeten Germans). Wittmann believes it is also necessary to ensure the right of individual return on the basis of the right to a homeland. These demands were expressed at the fourth session of the 9th Assembly of the Landsmannschaft in Munich at the end of October 1990.

Press spokesman for the Czechoslovak People's Party Vladimir Elis told CTK today that the party leadership holds the view that "property should not be returned to the transferred Sudeten Germans, nor should they be given any other material compensation as there is no legal justification for this. The transferred Sudeten Germans received compensation from the FRG Government and thus cannot raise further demands. Those who settled in the former GDR should present their demands to the present government."

The People's Party leadership believes that "transferred Sudeten Germans have a right to an expression of moral satisfaction. This has been done several times, for instance, by President Havel and a number of churches. The Czechoslovak victims of Nazi terror have the same right."

The Czechoslovak Community Party issued a special statement on the matter at its congress on Sunday, stating that "attempts at the return of Sudeten Germans could, in our opinion, hardly benefit the interests of our country. On our western border (with Germany) we must establish a capable infrastructure and learn how to cooperate and live together."

Scientific Agreement Signed With FRG

AU0611150890 Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister for Strategic Planning Pavel Hoffmann told journalists here today after signing an agreement on scientific technological cooperation with Germany that energy production and protection of the environment and health will be the main priorities of a joint research.

The agreement, signed by Minister for Research and Technology Heinz Riesenhuber for the German side, should open new possibilities, especially for the state-sponsored research, and the Czechoslovak side expects that it should contribute to improve the quality of the country's scientific technological potential.

A total of thirty scientific research projects are prepared concerning e.g., the development of new materials, chemistry, biotechnologies, ecology and agriculture and medical science. Hoffmann also said that the agreement stresses exchanges of experts.

Council of Europe Official Visits Prague

AU0611151690 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT 02 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia is expected to be definitively admitted to the Council of Europe in the spring of 1991, representative of the Political Committee of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Jacques Baumel, said during his meeting here today with Chairwoman of the Czech National Council (parliament) Dagmar Buresova.

He said that the aim of his current visit to Czechoslovakia is to prepare the country's admission to the Assembly. Referring to the preparation of a document on fundamental civil rights and freedoms and new laws in Czechoslovakia, Baumel recommended that these documents be adopted before the admission of the country to the Council of Europe. He also voiced his fears of nationalism and stressed: "We must not return to Europe before 1914. We have to create a new Europe with united and strong states in which the status of minorities will be preserved. Europe cannot be a confederation of small states but an economically strong confederation with a common market. Therefore we ascribe Czechoslovakia's participation in the building of Europe a big significance."

Premier Calfa Comments on Federation Issues

LD0611220390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa spoke about the talks of three premiers in an interview with U.S. journalists (Sue Masterman) and (John Howland) for the ABC and CBS broadcasting companies. He said that the talks concentrated more on creating the conditions for the implementation of the programs of the Public Against Violence [VPN] than those of the Civic Forum [OF], whose problems are not being put forward in such a pressing manner. This is noticeable also in the Czech Republic, where the OF holds a majority; therefore, it looks as though we do what is required by the Slovak Republic, said Marian Calfa.

He continued: My position is special because I am a VPN representative in the Federal Government and I am seeking a certain balance between the concept of the federation and the concept of the republics as it is represented by the election program of the VPN. This means that we are switching from the inherited centrist concept of federation to a functional federation, purified from the superfluously centralized jurisdictions that were returned to the republics. Our problem lies in the fact, Marian Calfa continued, that we are a federation of two, which is unique in the world and the worst type of federation imaginable. There is no majority in a binational federation; the two simply have come to an agreement, and the decision of one immediately predetermines the situation of the other. My philosophy, therefore, is that of seeking a balance and I also cannot—although it is sometimes held against me—act in a hard and authoritative way.

He then went on to say that none of the three state representations expressed the view that we should not live in a joint state. Our basic premise is that none of the election programs of the political forces expressed a doubt about the existence of the federation. We, therefore, are in the middle of a search, and we all have goodwill to find what suits the nations and preserves the federation.

Calfa on Nationalism, Internal Reform Process

AU0611143190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Oct 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Igor Sirota; place and date not given: "An Absolutely Critical Half-Year"; first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] The current government of national sacrifice faces innumerable complex problems which must be solved. It was precisely about these problems that we spoke with Federal Premier Marian Calfa.

[Sirota] There is a really great uncertainty regarding crude oil. You mentioned that its shortage could mean the disintegration of the national economy. Is the word, disintegration, appropriate even for the existence of our federation?

[Calfa] Certainly not. The question of its structure, however, remains. Federation is a form of state arrangement, of state life, and we still are not entirely clear about its new form. We can clearly say, however, that it is not a mistake that this state has developed from its inception as a unitary republic. At the end of 1968, we encountered the need for a transfer to a qualitatively new form of a single state, within the framework of which the nations would form state bodies—the national republics. Under conditions of a strong centralism, however, an appropriate form of coexistence cannot be found. We are still searching today.

[Sirota] Hence, the Slovak Republic came with the concept of a new form first and it presses for its implementation quite strongly. How do you and the federation react to this?

[Calfa] What is wrong with the Slovak Republic making the proposal? Premier Meciar said that theirs is a global notion and they are willing to discuss it. To be more precise, it is a final concept which should appear in the new constitution; not everything in it must be in the law on the Czechoslovak federation. We are in the process of investigating whether this final concept did not reach the limit beyond which the system of federal bodies is no longer actually needed.

[Sirota] Slovaks are spirited; the Czech side is soft; the federation does not want to lose its seats. What do you think of this view?

[Calfa] I consider it completely erroneous. The Slovaks got the farthest because there exists a strong, fully dominant national element within that republic. I would characterize the Czech concept as more moderate, but not soft. The starting point for the federation is definitely not a thought of keeping the seats. That is a nonsense. I would say that our attitude emerged from a different sum of experiences, a different point of view. I believe that one must combine all three views and create that combination of something functional with good prospects. We really want to preserve the Czechoslovak Republic in the future. All three representations base their views on the idea of the existence of a federal state.

[Sirota] So the question is not whether or not to have a federation?

[Calfa] This question has never been raised by the ruling coalition in either Slovakia or Bohemia. The question is: How will our federation actually look? Our experiences give us some idea, foreign experiences some more. Just as we will go back to the tested models in economics and in politics, we will go back to the federative state arrangements which proved themselves in the world. Viewed from the historical perspective, we are just passing through a stage of distinctly Czechoslovak elements of development. We have outgrown the distinctly Czechoslovak childhood diseases in the economy and in politics, and it is the same in other areas. For example, one of these distinctly Czechoslovak elements is that the republics are formed on the national principle. On the one hand, it is the right way, on the other, it is tremendously dangerous. It is not like that in the world—not in the FRG, the United States, or Brazil. A federation consisting of only two republics on the national principle is a rather unique state structure.

[Sirota] So, you are still searching for the form of the federation. Will you find it by 20 November, the day on which the government is to submit to the parliament the bill on the Czechoslovak federation?

[Calfa] We are not looking for the complete structure of the federation. We agreed that by 20 November we will process the material regarding which there is a tripartite consensus. This work should be completed by the end of October at the governmental level, then the national councils will deal with it, and the bill will eventually be submitted to the Federal Assembly.

[Sirota] Does such a limit exist, the crossing of which would mean the end to the federation?

[Calfa] Everywhere in the world, a federation has several features. First, it is strengthened by its united market, which does not recognize national borders. Furthermore, everywhere in the world there are federal armies and police units, protection of the borders, one citizenship, one currency, one concept of the foreign-trade policy, one judicial system, one system of control, etc. One can very easily extract from the world experiences the fundamental features of a federation.

[Sirota] Do the narrow national interests threaten the economic reform?

[Calfa] I once said in an interview that dealing with such questions postpones economic reform. That does not mean that we do not want to deal with national problems. The point of departure of Premier Meciar is the correct thesis, that the change in competence is a part of the economic reform as well as a necessary condition.

I believe, however, that it is not always decisive who will be in charge, but how he will go about it. Yes, we really need to discard the centralist system, but in such a way that the state administration will disappear altogether. If the administration in the same shape and form is only transferred from the federal level to the republic level, I have not done much for the economic reform but I satisfied the national sentiments. If I did something to strengthen national sovereignty, however, I might have also prepared an atmosphere for reform. Thus, the two concepts probably cannot be separated from one another.

[Sirota] What are the main risks, which could jeopardize the economic reform recently underway?

[Calfa] One great risk is the lack of preparation for the new conditions of market economy on the part of a large segment of the management sphere. We, the president, I, and the republic premiers, have begun visiting enterprises. In places, in which I encountered a perfect management team, an expansion is being discussed and new business planned. In places without a capable management, sighs are heard and people complain of shivers running down their spines.

The second risk is connected with the unemployment. The employable population of Czechoslovakia is approximately eight million and today about one-half percent of them are unemployed. That is negligible from the economic point of view. World experiences indicate that unemployment begins to influence the discipline, effectiveness, etc., as an economic element after it surpasses the three-percent limit. We are pondering how high the unemployment rate could go. It cannot be assessed with precision because far too many variables influence this phenomenon, including some foreign input. The darkest estimates put the unemployment rate as high as 15 percent, i.e., more than a million unemployed. The Italian experiences teach us that approximately one-half of them can be absorbed by small and medium-size business. That is one reason for helping the small privatization to this world. It should provide opportunities and conditions for broader employment. Nevertheless, one can say that about one-quarter million people could be without a job.

[Sirota] A statement that does more than just warn. It is a warning to the government and to the trade unions. What kind of role will they play?

[Calfa] It is the job of trade unions to find work for the people and to help them maintain an appropriate social standard. This does not mean to demand—state, give money—but forcing the factory management to achieve such results that their people make a fortune. Therefore, the quality of hired workers or the production policy also are the responsibility of the trade unions. It is a new type of work for the trade unions. The trade unions should no longer "represent" the employees and demand something under a threat of a demonstration or a strike, but actively form conditions for a better life of the people. We would appreciate it if they helped us also in the retraining programs.

[Sirota] We got sidetracked. Let us go back to the economic risks, or more precisely premonitions. Inflation must be one of them. How do you intend to fight inflation?

[Calfa] To deal with inflation is very difficult, it takes a long time, and the price to pay is high. Unemployment is easier to deal with. Both are awful afflictions, one is a worse, the other a lesser evil. Inflation, then, is the greater evil, which we will try to keep under control. It has two sides and both are unpopular. On the one hand, the concern is to keep control over the money in circulation. That means all money invested, paid in salaries, released to communities, and paid in the social sphere. The other thing is to keep control over the state expenses. That means that if the state has no revenues, the expenses will have to be reduced. In this respect, the endeavors of the Federal Assembly are rather ambiguous. If, for instance, some deputies are "throwing in" hundreds to the family allowance, extend the periods for which subsidies from the state budget are paid, they actually defy the state economic policy for which they voted by adopting the government policy statement.

[Sirota] You consider the coming half-year to be critical. Will it be only a half-year?

[Calfa] I spoke of the first half-year as absolutely critical. During these six months a picture will emerge indicating which enterprises, which spheres, which branches will get going, and these can be helped.

[Sirota] Will it not start still before January? After all, the devaluation of koruna took place earlier than expected. Can one expect the price liberalization and price increases connected therewith before the end of the year?

[Calfa] We would not like that. A thick line will be drawn in the fiscal calculations at the end of the year so that as of January the division will be clear between that which belongs to the republics, which belongs to the Federation, what belongs to the enterprise and what to the state. Already this is a reason to aim at the complex measures actually coming into effect in January 1991.

[Sirota] Thank you for the interview.

Calfa, Pithart, Meciar Discuss Power Sharing

AU0711174590 Prague CTK in English 1744 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, 5 Nov (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said today that the bill defining the powers of the federal and republic bodies will be discussed by the governments this week, later presented to the republic parliaments and passed on to the federal parliament by November 20.

Speaking to newsmen during a break in his meeting with Czech Premier Petr Pithart and Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, devoted to the final stages of drafting the bill, Calfa said the premiers discussed a definition of economic policy-making of the federation and the republics, questions of property, finances, banking, budget, taxes and customs, the issue of powers in foreign policy and foreign trade relations.

Referring to the course of the talks, Petr Pithart said he had expected them to be more complicated and Vladimir Meciar added that probably all three premiers were aware of the consequences that would arise if they failed to reach agreement.

Meciar and Pithart stated that the issue of powers of republic bodies was clear and now the premiers were seeking to define the idea of the powers of the federation. The three premiers agreed to drop issues on which they might disagree from political debates in the coming weeks and months.

Briefing newsmen at the end of a nine-hour meeting of the three premiers, concerning the sharing of powers between the federation and the republics, Federal Premier Marian Calfa said economic strategy, basic questions of the tax system, the armed forces, foreign policy, state administration and some matters concerning control, as well as drawing up policy blueprints in the sphere of fuels, energy and raw materials, including legislation, will fall within the powers of the federation. Republic bodies will deal with control of economic processes and everyday care of citizens. No contentious issues remained at this stage, Calfa said, adding that what the premiers agreed on today is sufficient for the bill to become effective on January 1, 1991, for the republics to be able to make full use of their economic sovereignty in implementing economic reform.

Petr Pithart said that the question of radio and television, which does not fall under the bill on the powers of the federation and the republics, would be discussed later this month.

Duties of Local Government Officials Outlined

LD0611165790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] There are only a few days until the elections to local self-administration organs; the community representative body will be elected on 24 November. Its members will then elect a community council. Czech National Council deputy Jiri Payne will tell us more about their rights and duties:

[Payne] The representative body [zastupitelstvo] is an assembly of those who will be elected in the upcoming elections; the sessions will, in principle, be public and open to everyone. These bodies are exclusively autonomous. This means that they do not fall under the state administration and must be guided only by laws. The main duty of the representative body will be to elect the council and the mayor and also to approve the program of development and the administrative plan of the community. This is very important, because it sets out building guidelines in the community, and the members of the representative body should first have clear in their mind what kind of future they expect for their community. Apart from this, the representative body approves the budget and accounting, and the council must then manage according to this budget. The body also sets the number of officials employed, how many they can afford, and how much they can pay them; it appoints and recalls the secretary to his office; and apart from this it can set up, abolish, divide, or unite organizations which the community has founded. It can also decide on property affairs which concern the community or—

where relevant—the territory which falls under the community. It can transfer some territory to the neighboring community, or else decide where a border should be moved.

Apart from this the generally valid regulations of autonomous administration are also only issued by the representative body. This means regulations which are based on basic laws and which only concern the community. Apart from this, the council fulfills the roles of a founder of organizations which the community has established. The council can also assign tasks to the local police or possibly to organs of public security.

Economy Minister Views Trade Union Talks

LD0511163190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Interview with Minister of Economy Vladimir Dlouhy by Oldrich Sestak at meeting with representatives of the Confederation of Trade Union Associations in Prague on 5 November—recorded]

[Text] [Sestak] You arrived at these talks shortly before 0900. We agreed with your secretary, Mr. (Stefanek), that we should come here at 0900 to be present at the session. We have, however, been told that it is closed to journalists. It therefore looks as though it is a rather complicated meeting. What is your view?

[Dlouhy] I really did not insist that the session should be closed to journalists. This is how it came about to hold these talks: In my view, we have to try for continual dialogue with all trade unions within the framework of what I call social reconciliation, which I think is of vital importance for the success of economic reform. I was the initiator of these talks myself, as the Federal Government approved the overall philosophy of the state structural policy for the next period, and this proposal is to be expressed in specific terms for individual areas: metallurgy, coal mining, conventional fuel power stations, nuclear power stations, and so forth.

Before the government discusses these concrete proposals, I wanted to have a discussion with the leadership of the Confederation of Trade Union Associations and also with individual representatives of trade union associations about this philosophy and also about the way they see the state's role in state structural policy. Originally I wanted the talks to take place in a smaller and a closer group, only with those representatives of trade union associations that are officially under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Economy. However, the Confederation of Trade Union Associations informed me that there was an interest in having this meeting with all representatives of trade union associations, and therefore I am here.

[Sestak] The government has said on several occasions that it wants strong trade unions, that it needs this apart from other things for making economic reform move, and the trade unions becoming its partner. I have heard you say on several occasions that this is also your view. What do you expect from today's meeting towards achieving a consensus between the government and the trade unions?

[Dlouhy] I expect mainly to hear the views of individual trade unions on the state structural policy; how they see the role of the state, of social consequences of state structural policy, how they see the possibilities to influence state changes of economic structure. I want to clarify to which extent the issue of the market and of market criteria are (?on the scene), simply all the questions of this general philosophy. This morning I have these talks with trade unions; in the afternoon I have talks with the economic ministers of both republics in Znojmo on the same topic and also on the division of jurisdiction in the next period.

Assembly Committees Report 1989 Army Activities

LD0611202190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Members of the Defense and Security Committees of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly were acquainted in Prague today with a report on the results of investigations by the commission of the president of the Republic on the activity of the Army last November. Vojtech Dejl, chairman of the commission, stressed that, at that time, the Army was prepared to intervene, particularly during the extraordinary session of the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] Central Committee on 24 November. At that session former National Defense Minister Milan Vaclavik issued an appeal to the effect that the Army and people's militia be put on combat alert.

Colonel Jiri Horak, another member of the commission, briefed the deputies on details of the activity of another former minister of defense, Miroslav Vacek. In July 1989, the latter, for example, had the guidelines for intervention by order forces against the demonstrators put up to date, on his own initiative.

The deputies adopted a resolution in which they directed Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky to examine materials ordered on 28 March of this year by Anton Slimak, chief of general staff.

Dobrovsky Denies Rumors of Army 'Purge'

LD0711194590 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Interview with Minister of National Defense Lubos Dobrovsky by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Last Friday [2 November] Lubos Dobrovsky, minister of national defense, recalled three of his deputies from their posts. This unexpected action gave rise to certain speculations about further possible development in the Army.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, when meeting with reporters after you took up your post you said that you had full confidence in your deputies in the Army command, and yet on Friday it became known that you recalled three of your deputies. Is this in keeping with your statement?

[Dobrovsky] Yes, it is, because I, of course, did not say that I would preserve the structure of the ministry which existed at the time when the ministry was headed by a specialist, a general and soldier. I must adapt the structure and organization of the ministry to the fact that I am a civilian. And the recalling of these deputies does not mean that they are leaving the Army. They will continue to work and will continue to function as generals in posts which correspond to their qualification and the degree of trust which not only I but all others who occupy the top posts in the Army have in them. And I appointed one other deputy. The point is simply that the structure of the ministry is changing to suit the reality of being headed by a civilian.

[Reporter] Does this mean that speculation that the new minister is beginning to purge the Army is out of place?

[Dobrovsky] I said on many occasions that I would never purge the Army, in the bad sense of the word "purge." I will act to ensure that the key posts in the Army—and this involves all posts—will be occupied by people who due to their qualification, their personal standing, and their ethical background are capable of carrying out the tasks and fulfilling the duties required by these posts.

Defense Minister Describes Future Army Structure

LD0511182790 Prague CTK in English 1603 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Prague, 5 Nov (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Lubos Dobrovsky told the Defence and Security Committees of the two houses of Czechoslovak parliament today that a numerically not strong professional Army should be formed under the plan of Army development until the year 2005.

Gradual reduction of the numerical strength and shortening of compulsory military service to one year (from 18 months at present) should bring the total of men to 140,000. However, already now, after mass departures of career soldiers as well as of soldiers undergoing compulsory civil service, the number has dropped to 150,000 against a one-time total of 200,000, Dobrovsky said.

That is why he wants to ask those young officers of the total of 12,000 who have left the Army on their own request to return to the Army.

The minister also spoke about the necessity of amending the law on alternative military service of last spring. A draft is already ready under which those interested in it should be allowed to do so already before joining the Army and not afterwards.

Dobrovsky explained his decision to suspend vetting of soldiers for their past record by shortcomings in the procedure, but expressed himself resolutely against general re-vetting which would, in his view, slow down and destabilize effort to reorganize the Army.

He also spoke about the necessity to screen members of the former military counter-intelligence service. In this connection he said that the activity of the military intelligence service has been reduced, especially in relation to the Warsaw Pact chief command.

It will now be possible for staffers of Czechoslovak embassies abroad to acquire information only by legal diplomatic means, the minister said.

Speaking about the 10-per cent reduction of the military budget next year (the real decrease will be 15-16 per cent as prices will go up), the minister warned that the Army will not be capable of fulfilling its tasks.

Reduced equipment and numerical strength of the Army and the gradual professionalization of the Armed Forces do not automatically mean lower costs. On the contrary, higher pays of military professionals and the development and purchases of sophisticated equipment will probably make the Army "dearer", Dobrovsky said.

Professionalization of the Army should soon grow from the present 35 to 42 per cent, the minister said.

He also informed the Defence and Security Committees of Czechoslovak parliament about decreases in the Army's conventional weapons following the signature of the relevant Warsaw Pact agreement in Budapest on November 3.

The Army will have 1,435 tanks (against original 3,832), 1,430 (1,920) infantry vehicles, 620 (3,047) armoured carriers, 1,150 (3,243) artillery pieces, 40 (81) rockets, 1,032 (1,127) antitank pieces, 315 (430) combat planes, and 75 (134) helicopters.

The Army will transfer 65 of its own facilities and 224 facilities used before by the Soviet Army to the civil sector. Four military training areas measuring an aggregate of over 60,000 hectares will also be placed under civil administration, Dobrovsky said.

Movement '90 Calls For Warning Strike 16 Nov

AU0611215590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 1 Nov 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Strike Call"]

[Text] P. Kolarik, chairman of the St. Wenceslas Association, described yesterday's rally at the St. Wenceslas Statue in Prague as an expression of the public's opinion on the present political situation, with which many people are dissatisfied. The event was organized by the Movement '90 [Hnuti '90], a group comprising some parties, movements, and associations which failed in the June elections. According to P. Kolarik, the people who met there are of the opinion that the public does not actually know what has been happening in our country since last November. "Everything suggests that the old structures once again occupy the leading positions," P. Kolarik told the CTK reporters. The Movement '90 demands, among other things, a change to the laws on re-privatization, privatization, and parliamentary and local elections, the postponement of communal elections until next spring, the formulation of a legal measure on the one-time expropriation of ill-gotten property, the dismissal of all former communists from all positions of leadership, and the publication of the results of the roundtable talks held in the initial stages of last year's November revolution. To enforce these demands, the Movement '90 calls on the Czechoslovak public to stage a one-hour warning general strike on 16 November between 1300 and 1400.

Interparliamentary Civic Association Declaration

AU0611170090 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Nov 90 p 3

[Declaration of the Interparliamentary Civic Association: "In a Different but Tolerant Way"]

[Text] Prague—The Interparliamentary Civic Association [Meziparlamentni Obcanske Spolecenstvi] has recently come into being on the soil of the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council. In its constituent declaration it states, among other things, that in the elections the majority of the Czechoslovak public expressed definite support for Civic Forum [OF] and the Public Against Violence movement [VPN]. "We strive for such an organizational arrangement of OF as would lead to its greater political efficiency," the declaration says.

"We definitely refuse the artificial ideological division of OF into the right and left wings because, among other things, both alternatives can lead, in their extremes, to a totalitarian society. We consider the existence of various ideological groups within OF—competing without emotions and using objective arguments in discussions about the most proper solutions to specific problems—to be a natural phenomenon. We put the idea of tolerance against the idea of national, racial, or any other intolerance. We prefer knowledge based on a critical analysis of problems to the belief that there is only one correct way. Against the populism striving for an immediate favorable reaction of the public, we put a long-term concept which also takes into account long-term consequences and the most important implications of our decisions today.

"We are following up on the election program, on the basis of which we have acquired our mandate. We will strive for a full and economically justified self-administration of communities. We will push for a model of market economy which will respect the experience acquired in developed countries. The economic reform is not our only goal, but one of the means leading to prosperity which—in its turn—is only a material prerequisite for a dignified life of all of us. This road to prosperity must also be a road to political democracy which is based on the activity of the people and not on the political manipulation or even fanaticism adhering to the principle of leadership.

"Social, ecological, educational, and cultural policies are as important for our future as the economic policy.

"We will push for an equitable federative arrangement of our state, which will be one of the guarantees that of our successful return to Europe. We will make efforts to include Czechoslovakia in the process of European integration and to see to it that it actively participates in the creation of a pan-European security system. Our objective is a state based on the rule of law, a state which also ensures freedom to minorities and to those who think differently, a state of citizens equal before the law.

"Our association has also been established because we do not want OF to abandon the principles from which it was born. We want to honor knowledge rather than assertions, and we want to respect differing opinions and to calmly, systematically, and unemotionally cooperate with everyone who wants such cooperation."

This declaration was joined by the Federal Assembly OF deputies: Rudolf Battek, Petr Brodsky, Jiri Bures, Albert Cerny, Pavel Dostal, Ivan Fisera, Rudolf Hrusinsky, Vaclav Humpal, Bohumil Janca, Zdenek Jicinsky, Jan Kacer, Valtr Komarek, Jindrich Konecny, Petr Kucera, Ladislav Lis, Vladimir Mikule, Jiri Musilek, Ivan Mynar, Dana Nemcova, Vlasta Parkanova, Jana Petrova, Vitezslav Sochor, Jiri Soucek, Frantisek Samalik, Venek Silhan, Jan Solc, Ruth Sormova, Josef Spacek, Sona Tarkoviska, Petr Uhl, Vlastislav Valtr, Ladislav Vrchovsky, Jan Vild, Jozef Wagner, Milos Zeman, and Rudolf Zukal.

According to the procedural orders of the OF Club the Interparliamentary Civic Association is not a group within the OF Club.

Ecological Program for North Bohemia Approved

AU0611142490 Prague CTK in English 1703 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 2 (CTK)—A program providing for investments of 20,500 million korunas (one U.S. dollar is 24 korunas) to improve the environment in north Bohemia was approved by the Czech Government today.

All large power stations and heating plants which are to remain in operation till the next century should be equipped with desulfurizing and denitrifying facilities and filters.

Spending on ecological improvements in the area on the border with the former GDR, one of the worst affected in Europe, are to amount to 1,000 million korunas next year.

Coal-burning power stations with the total output of almost 1,000 megawatts are to be shut down in the area by the end of 1994 and their capacity would be replaced by a nuclear power plant at Temelin in west Bohemia.

Czech-Moravian Agrarian Union Established

AU0611213190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Nov 90 pp 1, 5

["(mak)" -signed report: "Agrarian Union Set Up"]

[Excerpts] Kuparovice—Yesterday's founding of the Czech-Moravian Agrarian Union [Ceskomoravska agrarni unie] at Kuparovice near Brno marked the culmination of the efforts of a number of primary agricultural producers, regional chambers, as well as entrepreneurial, professional, and special interest associations and organizations. The constituent assembly was attended by more than 100 representatives of various activities within the framework of the agrarian-food industry complex of the Czech Republic.

The motives for the founding of the union were explained by Jan Fencl, chairman of the Czech-Moravian Cooperative Farmers' Union, who said that similar institutions operate in most advanced countries with a market economy. The union's job will not be to claim advantages for agricultural enterprises at any price, but to demand and ensure that consideration be given to the specific features of agriculture, the food industry, and related branches when economic and other measures are taken.

The union will be a democratic and self-managed association of representatives of agrarian and regional chambers—59 of which have already been established in the Czech Republic under various names—as well as professional and industrial associations, organizations, and institutions. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the union's immediate goals, Fencl said that it hopes to take over some functions of state bodies in the near future, especially in the allocation of quotas within the framework of the system of guaranteed prices and in the distribution of subsidies and grants. [passage omitted]

The session elected the union's bodies—a Presidium and a Board of Supervisors. Jan Fencl, chairman of the Czech-Moravian Cooperative Farmers' Union, became the union's chairman. [passage omitted]

Havel Participates in Slovak Discussion Program

AU0511094290

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak at 0930 GMT on 2 November begins broadcasting a 30-minute unscheduled discussion program involving CSFR President Vaclav Havel, Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, Miroslav Kusy, rector of Comenius University in Bratislava, and the Bishop of Nitra. The situation in society and its problems are the main issues under discussion.

Miroslav Kusy says that life was more certain under the totalitarian system. People were told what to do and how to do it. However, the rules of the democratic game are different. People now have an opportunity to think and act as they wish. Everyone has the right to his own opinion and this must be respected.

President Havel expresses the opinion that people are dissatisfied because things are not changing as quickly as they would like, because it is more difficult than they thought to implement some changes, and because the obstacles to change are greater than first envisaged. People also want to come to terms with the past.

He continues by saying that one of the slogans chanted most often during last year's revolutionary events was "We Are Not Like Them." The revolution was a victory for the idea of tolerance, understanding, kindness, and affability. Unfortunately, some of these dimensions have been lost in recent months. A feeling of intolerance and dissatisfaction is developing in society.

The president concludes the discussion by saying that the qualities prevalent in society at the time of social change—tolerance, understanding, and kindness—have disappeared from today's social life. He adds that, in the current situation, it is very important for people to be open with each other.

Slovak Draft Amendment Curtails Federal Powers

LD0611214190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 6 Dec 90

[Text] The Slovak Republic Government today passed the draft amendment to the constitutional bill on the Czechoslovak Federation. Incorporated in this are the agreements from the meeting of the premiers of the three governments on power division relations, which was held yesterday.

The draft proceeds consistently from the principle that sovereignty within the federation is of primary importance, and that the sovereignty of the federation is derived. The extent of the federation's power is determined only by the size of areas and matters that will be handed over by the republics to its power. These are first and foremost the issues of defense, foreign policy, a single currency, and some other spheres.

Christian Democrats on Slovak Nation's Ambitions

AU0711174690 Prague CTK in English 1532 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava, 5 Nov (CTK)—Chief Secretary of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Jan Petrik said today the movement favored maintaining the common state of Czechs and Slovaks in which, however, Slovaks can exercise the right to sovereignty in all spheres.

Petrik told a press conference that "if Czech friends understand the ambitions of the Slovak nation to become their equal partner, this common state will stand firmly on its feet".

Referring to the KDH Congress held on Saturday [3 November], Petrik said it involved very frank discussions including strong criticism. Nevertheless, KDH is at present the most consolidated movement in Slovakia, as seen from the re-election of Jan Carnogursky (Slovak deputy premier) Chairman of KDH. It represents a sober, conciliatory, concrete policy for the benefit of the Slovak nation. It intends to accentuate support for families with small children within the economic reform, Petrik stated.

Referring to the resignation of Interior Minister Anton Andras on November 2, KDH representatives told the press conference that by resigning Andras helped settle problems in the Slovak government in a peaceful manner. Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar called for his resignation last month and offered to resign himself unless Andras left the government. The KDH Congress, however, expressed full support for Andras and elected him KDH Vice-Chairman.

Christian Democrat Klepac Favors 'Common State'

LD0511155590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Jan Petrik, Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] central secretary, briefed reporters in Bratislava today about the conclusions of the movement's Slovak assembly held on Saturday [3 November]. He described it as the most consolidated movement in Slovakia.

Jan Klepac, member of KDH Political Council and Slovak National Council deputy chairman, voiced his view on the issue of coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks. He said that the KDH favors the preservation of a common state, in which, however, all the rights of Slovaks to independence and separate development, including economic, social, and spiritual activities, will be asserted. The future of a common state, in KDH's view, is to a certain extent in the hands of the Czech side. If it does not comprehend Slovakia's national ambitions to become an equal body within the framework of a united Europe we must be prepared to take our own path, said Jan Klepac.

Slovak Privatization Ministry Describes Aims

LD0611022490 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 5 Nov 90

[Text] Journalists were briefed today in Bratislava on the immediate tasks and intentions of the newly established Ministry for Administration and Privatization of the National Property of the Slovak Republic.

The main aim is to contribute to the abolition of the monopoly of state ownership and transfer the economy to a market-oriented basis. The first step is re-privatization or returning property to the original owners.

Minister Augustin Marian Huska describes as most important the fact that the privatization of small businesses will overlap with large-scale privatization, because the privatization of the tertiary sphere will begin in December rather than November. [sentence as heard] This process will be connected with many other tasks in the sphere of methodology. For instance, it will be necessary to create a Slovak fund for national property, or economic and organizational preconditions for privatization. The ministry wants to achieve this by creating district privatization commissions throughout Slovakia. These commissions will be charged with the task of drawing up a list of individual premises and evaluating them.

Hunger Strikers Interrupt Fast for Seven Days

AU0511154090 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava, 31 Oct (CTK)—The 35 people, who have been on a hunger strike here in protest against the law on the Slovak language passed by the Slovak National Council (parliament) on October 25, today decided to suspend their move for seven days starting tomorrow.

November 1 has been declared day of reconciliation by the Slovak National Council. The strikers will interrupt their protest as an expression of respect for tolerance, humanity and good will, they said. They condition the definitive termination of their strike by legal guarantees from responsible parliamentary representatives that they will agree with re-negotiation and re-approval of the language law. If this fails, the strikers will resume their protest on November 8.

The law passed by the Slovak National Council enacts Slovak as the official and state language, while it ensures the right of ethnic minorities to use their mother tongues in official contacts. The strikers support the proposal by Matica Slovenska, cultural organization founded in 1863, which insists on "Slovak without exception".

The decision to interrupt the strike was made at today's session of the Committee of Matica Slovenska. Its chairman Jozef Markus rejected accusations that Matica uses the language law as a means of struggle for political power, and stressed that Matica dissociates itself from the extreme nationalist expressions of the Slovak National Party in connection with the law.

Closed Assembly Session on Romania, Soviet Ties

LD0711220890 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 7 (MTI)—The Foreign Affairs' Committee of the Hungarian parliament held a confidential discussion on Hungary's relations with the neighbouring countries and its position on the minorities living there on Wednesday.

Before the start of the session, Chairman Gyula Horn announced that the Romanian parliament's Foreign Affairs' Committee had sent a message proposing to enter into contact with the Hungarian partner organization. The Hungarian reply was for constructive talks to be opened on the issue.

Horn also said that the chairman of the Foreign Affairs' Committee of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union had answered his letter pressing for the establishment of relations, and expressed a readiness for talks with the delegation from the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian parliament in Budapest or Moscow.

Afterwards, at the initiative of two MPs, Gyula Horn ordered a vote to be taken on the matter, as a result of which the committee decided to discuss the country's relations with the neighbouring countries behind closed doors. The motion was carried by 12 votes for and four against, including those of the committee's chairman and its secretary, Istvan Szent-Ivanyi.

Cooperation With Romania To Slow Crime Rate

AU0811101790 Budapest MTI in English 1537 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, 6 Nov (MTI)—As criminals on the run are able to move freely across the open borders, police force co-operation needs to be of the highest order if the growing crime rate is to be stopped, journalists were told at Csongrad County Police Headquarters in Szeged on Tuesday.

Prior to the news conference, talks were held between the chief police officers of Timis, Arad, Bekes and Csongrad Counties. Co-operation started a few months ago, resulting in the disclosure of several criminal cases.

Besides the chief officers, experts on various areas of crime prevention are also to be involved in the co-operation.

Antall Suffering From 'Non-Hodgkin Lymphoma'

LD0711205190 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, Novemebr 7 (MTI)—The Prime Minister's Office delivered a statement to the Hungarian news agency MTI on Jozsef Antall's state of health on Wednesday afternoon.

"According to the results of the histological examination of a sample of a lymph node removed during surgey mentioned in earlier statements, and of a medical examination, the prime minister is in the initial stage of an illness of the lymphatic system called 'Non-Hodgkin Lymphoma'. With current levels of medical knowledge, this illness can be effectively treated, using Hungarian medicines and equipment.

The treatment has been started and the patient is in perfect condition.

The illness or incidental side effects of the treatment will not prevent Jozsef Antall from fulfilling his obligations."

The statement was signed on Tuesday by the doctors in charge of the prime minister's treatment.

Pozsgay To Resign From Socialist Party

LD0811095590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Imre Pozsgay is leaving the Socialist Party [MSZP] and is thus giving up his offices of deputy chairman and leader of the party's parliamentary group. He will explain the reasons for his decision at the weekend party congress. Until then Imre Pozsgay has merely said that his decision was not motivated by personal reasons. He has no intention of joining any other existing political party and is not at present thinking of establishing a new group.

In his statement to NEPSZABADSAG, MSZP leader Gyula Horn expressed his regrets about the departure of Imre Pozsgay. At the same time, he said he understood that in the political climate that has developed in the country the politician is finding it difficult to cope with the trials of life of those with left-wing convictions.

Horvath Denies Plan To Fire Police Chief

LD0711145190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] The rumor has spread that there are plans to remove Dr. Sandor Barna, police general, from the head of the Budapest Police Headquarters, writes today's MAGYAR HIRLAP, which also publishes the statement of the chief of police. I quote Sandor Barna: For the time being, there are no indications that I have to deal with anything at all. I telephoned Interior Minister Balazs Horvath who commented on the report as follows:

[Begin recording] [Horvath] Obviously, whoever spread or started this rumor did not pay attention, in yesterday's television relay from parliament, to the government's submission to parliament on 30 August 1990. Yesterday, the National Assembly discussed it and on Monday [12 November] it will continue its discussion of the amendment to the law relating to the status of staff in the Armed Forces. This is the rule of law that enables the interior minister to nominate candidates for the leading police officer, police commissioner, and superintendent posts. The Interior Ministry leadership is thinking about personnel changes exclusively in this respect, or rather in this relation. The competition system will be the basis of the personnel changes. We do not have any plans in any single, definite personal instance.

[Announcer] Does this mean, in concrete terms, that you, or the government, have no plans to relieve Sandor Barna of his post, either?

[Horvath] We do not have any plans of this kind, with regard to either Sandor Barna or the urban superindent of Balatonfuered or the Tiszakecske police post commander. We await parliament's decision in connection with the amendment to the law. [end recording]

Finance Official Predicts 40-50 Percent Inflation

LD0711204990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Interview with Finance State Secretary Dr. Gyorgy Matolcsy by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Am I right to underline the significance of the fact that tomorrow, the two of you—the finance minister and yourself—are going to France and will be taking part in a meeting of heads of government?

[Matolcsy] Yes, Francois Mitterrand, president of the Republic of France, is personally organizing the conference tomorrow, to which finance and economic ministers or government members responsible for privatization have been invited from the former socialist countries.

[Reporter] What message are you taking to the French Government?

[Matolcsy] We have decided on a radical reform program; we have decided to accelerate the transition to market economy, and to begin a very swift and effective privatization program. We are concentrating next year on the transformation of Hungarian state companies into limited companies. We are also going to concentrate next year on solving the problems of the cooperatives, and the land problem. In the same year we will try to solve the problem of compensation of former owners, in the form of investment vouchers; next year we will achieve a decisive breakthrough in this privatization process.

[Reporter] What kind of squeeze will the population experience?

[Matolcsy] Every citizen will feel the higher level of inflation.

[Reporter] What will be the approximate inflation rate?

[Matolcsy] In my judgement, around 40-50 percent can be expected. Another thing that certain elements of the population will experience is unemployment. Perhaps one-third of the state companies could become insolvent. The way out of this is enterprise, foreign working capital, and for this there is certainly need for cheap credit; such will be the Existencia funding credit or the privatization credit. For this we need a program for infrastructure which will be set out in a legislation framework; foreigners are already awaiting this, and there will be a series of steps by which we will try to follow a certain idea of economic policy.

Although the entire economy is under very strong pressure because the market in the East is collapsing, the oil price is high and will perhaps become higher. There is also the sudden change to dollar accounting in our Eastern European trade, the really private enterprise sector of the economy—initially perhaps only small, extending to five to 10 percent—can become more flourishing. This small sector will put the rest behind and grow rapidly; it will provide—perhaps from the end of 1992—the basis for the upturn.

Finance Minister Submits Bill on Price Setting

LD0611153190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0950 GMT 6 Nov 90

[Speech by Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed National Assembly. You have before you draft bill No. 406 on the setting of prices, and I think that there has been enough time to study this draft bill. For this reason, I will make the introduction as brief as possible.

I think it is necessary to speak about two topics. One is the economic-political grounding of the draft bill, the other is the part dealing with the powers that the bill gives to the government.

Regarding the first: As is well known, the shaping of the market economy and the creation of the system of conditions necessary for it will be the focus of economic policy in the coming period. In the framework of this we will undertake the ownership reform and, as a part of the this, we will also undertake privatization, the propagation of small and medium enterprises, and generally give more scope for private economy. As an important element of the economic policy, we will proclaim and realize competition policy, which will force economic managers into a competitive environment in the widest possible sphere and within the shortest time frame.

In the framework of this, with the gradual extension of import competition, an ever bigger proportion of economic managers at home will be placed under economic constraint by the possibilities of entry into and exit from the market. Parallel with the change in external economic orientation, a greater proportion of economic managers will be forced to earn the incomes needed for their development on the export markets.

I have deemed it important to single out all these things because I want to emphasize that a fundamental characteristic of a market economy is economic constraint. Its creation, therefore, is also also a social interest. All this means that under market economy conditions, the chief regulators of prices are the market and competition.

The bill on the setting of prices basically makes it possible for economic managers to avail themselves uniformly of the right to set prices. On the other hand, it is important that the law should not discriminate between those appearing on identical markets according to who is the owner and what the management forms are.

The government and the state administrative organs can only interfere in the shaping of prices in exceptional and justified cases. It is justified that this remit of theirs be laid down in a law.

The government has reexamined the system of supports and it will abolish, within the limits of the possibilities, all those supports which distort the economic processes, have a bad effect on the allocation of resources, and which lead economic managers and consumers in the direction of economically irrational decisions.

The new regulation and the abolition of supports will help to enable business parties, availing themselves of the right to set prices, to agree on realistic market prices expressing each other's interests and value judgements.

In the background of the justification of the draft bill, I feel it is important to draw your attention to the fact that there is a relatively wide circle of views which considers the liberal price system formulated within the frameworks of the law to be excessive and premature. This circle holds that it is not in harmony with the yet-unformed system of market economy institutions and limited operational conditions. Our judgement is that the government will be able, within those short terms, to create the conditions or frameworks which will provide a background and a foundation for the free setting of prices that is made possible by the price law.

With regard to the second point, in other words the powers which the law gives to government, I would like to submit the following: In the course of drafting the bill, we started out from the double requirement that, on the one hand the government should have at its disposal all the necessary means for the realization of the economic policy. On the other hand, the government interventions should be restricted to the narrowest possible sphere. Experiences so far have shown that even the possibility of a one-shot central intervention is enough to make entrepreneurs at home and abroad lose their confidence, thereby directly impeding the operation of the market and its organic development. Private property and capital dislike those areas where they have to barter about the assertable prices with both the customer and the administration.

The draft bill provides the government with three kinds of power or authorization. One is to determine the areas and methods of setting prices by the state. Another is to order the obligation to give prior notification of price increases. Finally, the third: An extraordinary power enabling the government, in the event of a significant economic regulator modification, to issue directives and rules also for the area of free prices.

I would like to speak briefly about these three authorizations. According to the present rules, the administration—and within that the so-called price-authority competence organs, currently the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Agriculture—have a very wide range of authority with respect to intervention in prices. They can prescribe a central price for any product whatsoever; they can order the prior notification of a price increase, and they can invite any entrepreneur to a so-called price consultations.

The problem is augmented by the fact that the price-authority and price-control remits even extend to products not affected by the aforementioned price intervention possibilities. According to the rules in force, for example, the price increase of whatever product can be suspended for three months.

Compared to this, the new regulation represents a fundamental change, because the law limits the possibility of state intervention. It does this by fixing the products and services for which the price has to be set by the state organs. From this, it also follows that the later expansion or restriction of this sphere can only occur with the amendment of the law.

The draft relating to the sphere of goods affected by central price setting is contained in a supplement to the bill, indicating in (?VE-1) that it can only be made definitive in harmong with the government's three-year economic policy. The intention was that in every area where the production, marketing, entreprenurial, and import conditions necessary for the operation of the liberalized price relations can be created, there should be no central prices from 1991.

Following the crisis that developed in connection with the fuel price increase of 26 October, according to the agreement between the government, employees' and employers' representatives in the Interest Coordinating Council, central price regulation will cease in the case of mineral oil processing industry products. The government can still implement this within its own sphere of competence this year, but the supplement to the draft bill that has been submitted has to be amended together with the simultaneous creation of the permanent conditions of price liberalization. [sentence as heard]

In accordance with this I have submitted the amendment propsoal to the National Assembly, and the esteemed deputies have recieved this. This does not propose central price setting—apart from the mineral oil processing industry products, fuels, heating oil, fuel oil, also in the case of white bread and private cars—whereas with regard to domestic rents, textual adjustment became necessary, also taking into consideration certain provisions of the self-government bill which has been adopted by the National Assembly in the meantime.

With regard to these latter, incidentally, deputies have also submitted amendment propsoals which coincide with the government's finalized proposal on the basis of the examinations it conducted in this topic sphere.

The sphere of products affected by central price setting extends, first and foremost, to those products and services where, in the area of production or marketing, a monopoly organization can be expected. Such are certain energy carriers, transport, telecommunications, and water management services, or where the products and services are of special significance in the population's consumption, from social political and other viewpoints. For example, milk, medicines, and rents.

The sphere of products under state price setting represents about 10 percent of total circulation. I would like to stress that this solution is not contrary to the regulatory principles of practice in the market economy countries.

I draw particular attention to the fact that the setting of central prices cannot occur arbitrarily. On the basis of what is stated in the law, the price setter must also take the demands of the rational formation of prices into consideration, in light of market conditions. That is to say, he cannot set a price which ties the hands of the economic manager, but neither one that provides an opportunity for wasteful management.

Esteemed House, the draft bill authorizes the government to order the obligation to announce the intention to increase prices. The legal institution, as I have mentioned, has also existed. According to the new regulation, however, its content is different. The regulation in force today provides a virtually unlimited possibility to the state organs both in regard to fixing the sphere of goods where notification is compulsory, and in regard to judging the announced price increases. There have been periods when the obligation to give notice represented an intervention possibility nearly identical with central price setting. The law now sets definite conditions for imposing the compulsion to give notification—namely, the producers' position of economic advantage.

On the other hand, the price increase can only be prohibited when steps would have to be taken against the entrepreneur's conduct lying behind the increased price, on the basis of the law on the banning of dishonorable market conduct. The parliament has already started discussing this bill.

The new regulation wishes to ensure legality also by creating the possibility for legal remedy through judicial channels. This is likewise a fundamental change compared to the present regulation. I, therefore, once again draw the attention of the esteemed deputies to the fact that the draft bill abolishes the official sphere of authority ensuring the possibility for general intervention in prices.

Esteemed National Assembly, I know that the draft bill on the setting of prices is not so large or wide-scaled a bill as the competition law. The issues that it wishes to settle, however, likewise belong to the norms of market economy and to legal state functioning. On the government's behalf I ask you to discuss the draft and adopt it. [applause]

Finance Minister Queried on Fuel Prices, Economy

AU0811095290 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 6 Nov 90 p 6

[Interview with Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "The Government Has the Risk"]

[Text] [NEPSZAVA] Does the tax element in the consumer price of fuel cover the government's compensation expenses?

[Rabar] It does, in the case of a $29 purchase price.

[NEPSZAVA] Thus, the government is in the comfortable position of not losing anything as long as the interest coordination talks continue.

[Rabar] No, the government is in the uncomfortable position of having to bear the risks until the final liberalization of prices.

[NEPSZAVA] It has been said during the debate that the current increase in the producer prices of fuel will indirectly increase the budget income. Do you agree with this position?

[Rabar] Adjustment to world market prices will somewhat ease the burden of our budget, but only temporarily. At the same time, inflation, drought, the collapse of CEMA, and the recent fuel price increase represent a huge burden for us. Surprisingly, no one has yet inquired about our losses deriving from the aforementioned negative foreign economic and domestic processes. Everyone is curious, however, about how much we could gain by some of our measures.

[NEPSZAVA] Many people think that, in the coming days, the government will still be able to influence the domestic fuel prices by providing funds to purchase crude whenever it wants to.

[Rabar] The Mineralimpex Firm has been given full authority and the adequate funds to purchase fuel. Thus, we can no longer be accused of this.

[NEPSZAVA] Industry Minister Peter Akos Bod did not sit at your right side during the recent session of the Interest Coordination Council. Is this in connection with the fact that, according to the opinion polls, the public thought very negatively about the minister's role at that particular session on Sunday, 28 October?

[Rabar] The public also thought negatively about me. We thought that we would be able to negotiate much more successfully with experts only, rather than with the participation of several other ministers.

Economic Adviser on Crisis Management, Budget

AU0611110190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Nov 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Gyorgy Matolcsy, economic adviser to the prime minister and head of the government's Economic Policy Secretariat, by Szilvia Hamor; place and date not given: "Closed-Door Government Activity Is Over"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] According to many, Gyorgy Matolcsy is the government's economic policy "eminence grise."

In his interview to NEPSZABADSAG, Gyorgy Matolcsy describes the recent events in Hungary which require a radical change in the current government philosophy and practice. In connection with this, Gyorgy Matolcsy outlines a much swifter economic program, one that radically differs from anything known so far.

[Hamor] In your view, what lessons can one learn from the fuel strike and the citizens' demonstrations?

[Matolcsy] The recent events in Hungary were characterized by a spiritual and political crisis. By spiritual crisis, I mean that the Hungarian population has not yet acknowledged the fact that the world around us has changed. The political crisis has three elements. One is the information crisis, the government's inadequate information policy. Instead of announcing the radical economic restructuring program already decided by the government, we advanced some parts of this program, and we were slightly compelled to do so. It seemed that this decision was hanging in the air, whereas this was part of a tough concept which also includes the possibility of overcoming the economic crisis. The events also proved that the techniques of avoiding and managing crises have not yet developed. The situation is perhaps better today compared to the situation that prevailed one week ago, because the various bodies which represent interests passed the test well and the crisis management techniques are slowly emerging.

[Hamor] We have often heard that the government decided to implement a radical program. What does that mean?

[Matolcsy] Our economic program contains a single restructuring which requires great sacrifices, as well as the opening of possibilities for resolving the crisis. The single restructuring includes the liberalization of more than 90 percent of our imports, the freeing of energy prices, public transportation and transports, as well as wage liberation. According to this program, we will reduce subsidies by about 50 billion forints; this will mainly affect household fuel, food, and transportation. All this will have an inflationary effect of more than 35 percent. At the same time, at least one-third of the enterprises will go bankrupt, and the number of unemployed might reach 200,000 people. [passage omitted]

[Hamor] Privatization has slowed down in recent months, and the desire for ventures also seems to have decreased.

[Matolcsy] Regarding privatization, we must put an end to the current slow, cumbersome pace, and we can achieve this by decentralizing this privatization process and by allowing self-privatization. The economic cabinet will discuss this plan next week. According to this plan, by next year, all state enterprises will be obliged to become stock corporations and distribute their shares. As the owner, the state would receive 60 percent of these shares, and the remaining 40 percent would go to the local government, the workers of the enterprise in question, social security, and the compensation fund. This would be followed by a mandatory property evaluation carried out by two independent auditors. Then, the directorate of the stock corporations, a body comprised of the legitimate enterprise leadership, would nominate a privatization commissioner in charge of working out and initiating a privatization plan in accordance with the conditions of a privatization law to be discussed in parliament in December.

As for ventures, we want to accelerate these by changing our tax philosophy. The value-added tax would provide the larger part of tax incomes, while personal income tax would provide a lesser percentage. Tax exemption would cease to exist, but the system would be able to fully compensate for this. [passage omitted]

[Hamor] The question is whether our economy will continue to function in the coming weeks and months. This requires, among other things, international support and involves the question of whether the IMF accepts our 100 billion forint budget deficit.

[Matolcsy] So far, we have been unable to make the IMF delegation accept either the planned budget deficit or the expected $1.5 billion deficit in our balance of payments next year. We are unable, however—and this has been a lesson of recent events—to implement this radical program on our own, even if the IMF accepts our budget deficit. It is impossible to carry out the "great restructuring" with credits and foreign working capital. Hungary needs a single large sum to be able to finance its debts, create a social security network, pay the unemployment benefits, and restructure its energy sector. A radical program for economic restructuring is what we can come up with; however, this program cannot be implemented without a broad political and social consensus.

MTI Cannot Recover Debts; in Financial 'Crisis'

LD0711221590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Interview with MTI chief accountant (Gabor Tompa) by (Agnes Papp); place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Is MTI on the verge of bankruptcy? This is what NEPSZABADSAG asks in today's issue, in the wake of an investigation started by the State Audit Office to assess the agency's financial and economic situation. Is the situation really so critical, (Agnes Papp) asked chief accountant (Gabor Tompa).

[(Tompa)] MTI is in a real financial and economic crisis. This is mainly caused by the fact that we are unable to recover debts owed by our customers. The amount of our claims has risen from 30-40 million to 80-100 million [forints].

[(Papp)] Who is indebted to you?

[(Tompa)] It is maily press organizations that owe us the larger amounts of money, publishers like Pallas for example, and in some cases even the television.

[(Papp)] Is there any real chance that you will recover the money from these debts?

[(Tompa)] Unfortunately, I do not see a chance of the great majority of the debts being recovered. It is difficult to express this majority in percentage terms, as we would have to look through the list of those who owe money, and there are several hundreds or even thousands of them.

[(Papp)] What are the consequences of this economic and financial crisis?

[(Tompa)] We have to turn off the tap, so to speak, for notorious non-payers in the press, either temporarily as a warning, or forever, in case of total bankruptcy—I mean if the indebted goes bankrupt.

[(Papp)] Does this mean that the press will not receive news from MTI?

[(Tompa)] That is the ultimate possibility, but MTI does not want to resort to this at all.

Minister Discusses Environmental Damage

LD0711221190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] Hungarian enterprises only could afford the most necessary environmental protection investments in previous years. Even with the filters and purifiers which had been made under the pressure imposed on companies by the public, they could not get close to the norms of environmental protection which are common in Western European countries. This is why the Bonn-based European Environmental Protection Institute offered their help. They organized a two-day conference in Budapest. Zoltan Sipos reports:

[Sipos] To achieve a perceptible difference in Hungary's environmental protection in the short term, which means two to three years, 15-20 billion forints and a 30-percent budgetary support are needed, Sandor K. Keresztes said in his opening speech. The minister of environmental protection and regional development analyzed the scale and types of damage that had been done to Hungarian nature in recent times. The amount of waste materials in our country is many times the amount which occurs in a developed Western country. The fate of 600,000 tonnes of industrial waste a year is not know. Thirty percent of the waste of settlements cannot be followed up, either. In just the past few years, 53 species of animals and 42 species of plants have become extinct in Hungary. The ruthless exploitation of our forests has reached an all-time high. The list could be continued.

In the minister's view, the most severe and partly forecast problem, is the fact that it is extremely difficult to take immediate and effective measures amid severe economical and social problems. It is extremely important—almost absolutely necessary—that the resources that lie in international relations are used in the domestic environmental protection, the minister pointed out.

238 Poles Reportedly Allowed To Leave Baghdad

LD0711181390 Berlin ADN International Service in German 1737 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw/Baghdad (ADN)—A total of 238 Poles held in Iraq as hostages will be able to travel home on Thursday [8 November]. According to a communication from [Polish] government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska today, the Polish citizens will be flown to Warsaw on an Iraqi Airways plane chartered by the Polish Government.

The released Poles are primarily workers and construction engineers employed in Iraq on construction projects. According to the government spokeswoman, there are still 150 Poles in Iraq who may not leave. She said that 600 Polish citizens had decided to remain in Iraq.

Germany Forgives Overdue Foreign Debt Payments

LD0711203190 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 7 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Nov—Poland and Germany signed here today an agreement on the cancellation of all overdue payments, 760 million marks worth, by virtue of the 1975 financial credit granted by Germany to Poland.

Remaining Polish financial obligations 560 million marks, are to be repaid in Polish currency in the next ten years. The zlotys will be paid into the account of the Polish-German cooperation fund which is to shortly begin its operations.

The fund is to extend financial support for projects implemented in Poland serving the development of Polish-German cooperation.

"I think that the signing of this important document, to a considerable degree a pioneering agreement, may be treated as a good sign for talks between Mazowiecki and Kohl to start on November 8," Polish Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz said after the signing ceremony.

Press Briefing on German Ties, Arms Reductions

LD0711201790 Warsaw PAP in English 1854 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Nov—At today's press conference government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska focused on Polish-German relations with particular regard to a meeting between Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, scheduled for Nov. 8. In this connection Niezabitowska was asked about Polish expectations, German minority in Poland and possibilities of visa-free travel between the two countries.

Niezabitowska also spoke about the results of the Budapest agreement determining the ceilings of conventional arms in Warsaw Treaty states, the course of the visit in Warsaw by the Luxembourg premier, Soviet natural gas deliveries to Poland and the return of Polish citizens from Kuwait and Iraq.

Before Mazowiecki-Kohl Meeting

Niezabitowska called the coming Mazowiecki-Kohl meeting as symbolic because of its venue and timing (the anniversary of the chancellor's historical visit to Poland). The past year was very important as it saw the unequivocal recognition of the existing Polish-German border (in statements by Kohl and other leading German politicians, resolutions adopted by parliaments of the then German states and the final treaty of the two-plus-four conference).

Both leaders' talks in Frankfurt and Slubice will continue and sum up accomplishments in bilateral relations since last year's visit to this country by Kohl. The negotiations will focus on a border treaty expected to be signed in the near future and also on a treaty on cooperation and good neighbourly relations the structure of which and general content was discussed during initial talks. The next round of the talks will be held in late November.

Mazowiecki and Kohl will also touch upon economic problems, especially the validity of agreements signed with the former GDR, as well as upon international issues, including Polish debt, Soviet fuel imports and the consequences of the situation in the Gulf.

German Minority To Be in Focus of Treaty

In reply to questions concerning German minority in Poland, Niezabitowska said that problems related to German population living in Poland will be touched upon in provisions of the treaty on cooperation and good neighbourly relations, to also refer to economic and cultural cooperation and to personal contacts between citizens of both states.

She added that, following the international law and Polish regulations, German minority in this country is allowed to cultivate its language, culture and tradition. The situation of Polish minority in Germany is much worse. For example, it is more difficult for them to learn Polish there, she said.

Nationalistic Incidents

The government spokeswoman condemned anti-Polish and anti-Semitic nationalistic incidents which had recently taken place in Poland. We are deeply concerned with separatist slogans, she stated. Niezabitowska spoke about the related discreditable activity of the Union of Expellees which may contribute to the arousing of nationalist feelings.

Budapest Ceilings

As a result of negotiations which ended in the signing in Budapest of an agreement on five kinds of conventional weapons, Poland will have the largest number (next to the USSR) of tanks, armoured infantry carriers, combat helicopters and aircraft as compared to the remaining Warsaw Treaty states. We will also place second in artillery, Niezabitowska said. The agreement reflects proportions ensuing from the country's area and population, she added.

Visit by Luxembourg Premier

The Luxembourg Government is going to stimulate that country's companies to undertake economic and trade activities in Poland. We were given a list of firms willing to start cooperation with Poland, Niezabitowska said in connection with the Polish visit by Premier Jacques Santer.

Luxembourg will support Poland in its strivings towards association with the EC and joining the social development fund of the Council of Europe.

Return of Poles From Kuwait and Iraq

At present only several Poles are staying in Kuwait. On Nov. 8 a group of 238 Poles are expected to return from Iraq to the homeland. There are still 771 Poles there, 150 of them having been refused exit visas by Iraqi authorities.

Ecological Control of Soviet Garrisons

Basing on the results of inspections held in selected garrisons of the Soviet Army, stationed in Poland, the Polish side will work out a report on Soviet units' negative impact on Polish environment. Niezabitowska briefed newsmen that the Soviet side will be obliged to discontinue activities devastating Polish environment.

Soviet Gas Deliveries

Finance Vice Minister Andrzej Podsiadlo assured newsmen that if Soviet natural gas deliveries (5.2 billion cubic metres) do not satisfy Polish needs, Poland will buy additional amount of gas in Yugoslavia. It is also going to take steps to make itself independent from the exclusively one supplier of gas in the future.

Niezabitowska also spoke about the ongoing talks between Fiat representatives and the Warsaw passenger car factory and the setting up of a Polish interest section in the Republic of South Africa, to render consular services to numerous Poles living in that country.

Mazowiecki on Relations With Germany, Europe

AU0711160890 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 7 Nov 90 p 13

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Josef Riedmiller and Thomas Urban in Warsaw—date not given: "Against a Europe A and a Europe B"]

[Text] [SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] Mr. Prime Minister, exactly one year ago you met FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Warsaw. Since then Germany has been united, and great changes have taken place in Central and Eastern Europe. What does this mean for Poland?

[Mazowiecki] One can only congratulate you on German unification. There can be no doubt that it means the fulfillment of the German people's desire. I would also like to express my satisfaction at the fact that it took place in a democratic way. We consider our cooperation with the new, exonomically strong, and democratic German state as a certain opportunity for long-term positive coexistence of the two peoples. It is true that there are certain fears both here and with the other peoples, yet what is important in politicis is whether one pays more attention to the fears or to the future perspectives. We consider it to be a chance.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] How do you assess the current situation in Europe?

[Mazowiecki] The pace of developments in Eastern Eurpe has increased enormously. The fall of the Berlin Wall symbolizes the end of the political and militaary division of Europe. However, for us it remains of particular importance that this division is not replaced by another division, whose consequences might be equally dramatic: The division into a rich and a poor Europe. The coming together of the two parts of Europe must take place more rapidly. This is a great challenge, both for us, the inhabitants of Eastern and Central Europe, and the Western Europeans.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] A year ago Bonn still regarded Warsaw as an ally against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] regime. Now the Germans no longer have to rely on Polish support. Do you fear that now conversely, the FRG Government might lose its interest in providing support to Poland?

[Mazowiecki] I do not think so, because the desire for good cooperation and a breakthrough in German-Polish relations—just like in the case of the Germans and the French—is one of the basic principles of the FRG chancellor. I do not think that this will only depend on economic developments in Poland.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] There have been severe differences between Bonn and Warsaw in connection with the border question. Will the new agreement, which has now been adopted, solve this problem?

[Mazowiecki] I think that differences of opinion ended quite a long time ago. Even though there might well have been certain differences in connection with the date of the agreement. We continue to believe that it was necessary to remove all ambiguities in this connection and that this problem should be solved in the form of a treaty. The draft for this treaty has already been completed.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] In January Chancellor Kohl made a declaration in Paris which anticipated the subsequent declarations of the two German parliaments. Nevertheless, the Polish media launched an—in the words of the daily GAZETA WYBORCZA—anti-German campaign. Has the policy of your government furthered these tendencies?

[Mazowiecki] There has never been such a campaign. Although there have been various stages in the discussion about the treaty and Poland's participation in the two-plus-four conference, our policy never favored an anti-German campaign. I think that it did not exist in the Polish media either.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] In your opinion, when should the border treaty be signed?

[Mazowiecki] It should be signed as quickly as possible—as has been established by the two-plus-four conference in Paris.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] Do you see any connection between the ratification of this treaty and the forthcoming elections in the two countries?

[Mazowiecki] This is a matter of historic importance and it should be viewed independently of the election campaign in one country or the other. Nevertheless, we understand that this treaty will be ratified only after the all-German elections.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] A second treaty on cooperation and good neighborliness is intended to establish the rights for the German minority. What rights are these?

[Mazowiecki] We have taken a clear position in this question. The minority problem must be settled for all minorities in Poland—and it has been settled already. I think that we have met all our obligations in this connection, which were outlined in the joint declaration Chancellor Kohl and I signed one year ago.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] What is your attitude concerning the demands from the ranks of the German minority for dual citizenship?

[Mazowiecki] This is an internal affair of our country. Any regulation will depend on an internal resolution. We are currently discussing this matter in connection with the law on citizenship. Parliament will have to decide on it.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] Both German and Polish politicians like to emphasize that the German minority should assume a bridging function. What does this mean in concrete terms?

[Mazowiecki] One should not concentrate on matters that might affront the other side. We must concentrate on those things that unite us and can unite us. In this way the German minority, thanks to the fact that it is living between two cultures and that it maintains relations with Germany, constitutes an important factor for understanding and for the deepening of cultural, economic, and general human ties. In this way the minority can contribute essentially more for both countries. It must understand this and not cling to traditions which did great damage to our relations in the past.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] The expulsion of the Germans after the war is closely related to the minority problem. Conservative German politicians have demanded that you publicly express your regret, similarly to the declaration of CSFR President Havel.

[Mazowiecki] I have published such declarations even a long time before these politicians raised their warning finger, even at a time when I was not yet prime minister. Our foreign minister has also made several statements to this effect, the last time he did so was during his visit to Belgium. Thus, I see no reason for anyone to raise their warning fingers. Nevertheless, it is not my intention to simply ignore this problem. Of course, we know that many innocent people had to suffer. Yet, one must not forget that all this was a consequence of the war, which we did not start, that it was a consequence of the conditions that were created by this war, and that were still prevalent at the end of the war. This does not at all change the fact that these people suffered, and that they lost their home country. This is painful for anyone.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] Is your opinion shared in the Polish population?

[Mazowiecki] The Poles, who themselves had to suffer a lot in the war and who were exposed to other dire experiences in the course of history, are people who understand this. These people know from experience what it means to be shifted to and from on the international map. This part of history is behind us. Only the recognition of the irreversibility of the new German-Polish border can lead to the establishment of good relations between us.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] Do you believe that the Germans who were expelled will understand this?

[Mazowiecki] I think that many Germans understand it, including many of those who feel attached to those now Polish territories, because they used to live there. I regard Chancellor Kohl's appearance at the federal meeting of the expellees as most positive. He dealt with all these things there with a great degree of civil courage and a great sense of political responsibility. I hope that my words of understanding for the suffering will be understood correctly—even by the Germans.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] The Polish victims of the German occupation have called for compensation from the Bonn government. By referring to the 1953 London debt agreement, Bonn has so far rejected this. Do you support these demands?

[Mazowiecki] We have a great interest in the solution of this great moral problem. At all our meetings we have pointed to this problem. After all, it is not a matter of settling this problem with certain legal resolutions, but of dealing with it as an essential moral problem that is of great importance for the relations between our peoples. The people who suffered and their families will simply not keep quiet.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] The Polish Government is also hoping for another kind of compensation, a compensation for losses accruing after the cancellation of trade agreements with the GDR. What could this compensation look like?

[Mazowiecki] This problem must be solved. Relations with the former GDR played an essential role for our economy. German unification has changed the situation overnight. Now we would like to see this difficult problem discussed by specialists of both countries. This involves, for example, the supply of machines and spare parts. It also involves Poles who had work contracts on the territory of the former GDR.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] What causes do you see for the anti-Polish atmosphere that had emerged in the GDR? What should be done against it?

[Mazowiecki] The friendship between Poland and the GDR existed above all on an official level. However, real friendship between the people and the narrowing of the gap between the two societies, which have really lived completely separated from each other, has not been promoted. The new head of our diplomatic representation in Berlin, the former embassy in the GDR, has opened the door to all friends of Poland in order to bring together the representatives of the most diverse social groups of the two countries. A lot has to be made up for.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] In the former FRG and in Berlin, Polish traders have aroused anti-Polish sentiments. Should the government intervene in this connection?

[Mazowiecki] The government has only limited possibilities here. Of course, we can enforce stricter customs checks on both sides, yet even so we will not be able to get the problem absolutely under control. Still, I think that the policy of opening up, including the abolition of compulsory visas, is indispensable, despite certain incidents with which we will have to deal with for a long time to come. Maintaining compulsory visas would not be the solution. The problem can be solved only by bringing the two different standards of living closer together. A stable zloty exchange rate is one step in this direction.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] After the end of the GDR, Poland is now a neighbor to the EC. How do you assess Poland's chances of becoming an EC member?

[Mazowiecki] Negotiations about the status of associated member are underway. The next stage would of course be membership, to which we are aspiring. How fast we will obtain this objective depends on the one hand on the changes here in Poland, mainly in the sphere of the economy, and, on the other hand, on the policy of the EC states. The important thing is to link the process of integration within the current EC to the extension by the new democratic countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] Yet, for the time being Poland is still a member of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. What is your government's attitude toward these two organizations?

[Mazowiecki] Both organizations are in a stage of crisis and reshaping. For us the most important thing is that our CEMA membership neither impede nor slow down our getting closer to the Western states. This danger no longer exists. In the case of the Warsaw Pact, the objective is to abolish the leadership, in which the members did not have equal rights. Now there is talk of turning it into a body for consultations. In the future—and I believe in the not too distant future, the pact will be dissolved, whereas its military structures will cease to exist in the near future. We regard this as a very real prospect.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] Complications in raw material deliveries to Poland are in the offing. The Polish Government now has to negotiate with the individual Soviet republics. Does this not mean that Poland's economic situation will be complicated?

[Mazowiecki] With the latest visit of our foreign minister, we initiated two-level relations with our Eastern neighbors or, properly speaking, our neighbors. However, in a market economy there are not only the problems between states, but also between enterprises. But this also depends on further changes in our neighboring countries in the East. I am aware that many difficulties still have to be overcome along this road.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] How do you asssess the future good-neighborly relations with the East, since the Ukraine and the Russian Federation are prepared to be recognized by Poland, while this does not yet apply to Belorussia?

[Mazowiecki] In the first place, I would not interpret this in that way. You are certainly thinking of the signing of the joint declarations with Russia and the Ukraine, but not with Belorussia. But this is only a temporary issue which has to be further clarified. I think that such a declaration will also be made. At any rate, we are very interested in good cooperation with all our neighbors.

[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG] What should the role of mediator which Poland might assume between an EC with a united Germany and the disintegrating Soviet Union be like?

[Mazowiecki] A stable Poland which develops further and overcomes its own economic difficulties is an important factor of the new European architecture, which the role of mediator also fits. In the first place, our reforms must be successful, so that this role takes effect. Here it is especially important that we will jointly overcome the division into a rich and a poor Europe, a Europe A and a Europe B. Poland can contribute to this.

Mazowiecki Views Upcoming Meeting With Kohl

LD0711161590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Statement by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at his electoral staff's press conference on 7 November; place not given—Mazowiecki statement recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Journalists present at the conference took the opportunity to ask about tomorrow's meeting with Helmut Kohl on the Polish-German border: Will the prime minister sign the border treaty tomorrow? Will he remind Kohl about compensation for Poles who worked in Germany as forced laborers? Here are the answers:

[Mazoweicki] Of course I will also raise it; I raised it then, and will raise it on other occasions. I think this is a problem which is practical to implement in the existing legal situation by the creation—such are the intentions—of some kind of foundation, which would take care of its implementation. And in this spirit Chancellor Kohl talked with me; only so far, such a foundation has not been created. So I would like to contribute to it very much by speeding it up. Well, as far as the treaty itself is concerned, I think that it has been fully agreed. The only issue is to sign it as quickly as possible. There are two treaties: One of them—the border treaty—has been agreed, and we are working on the second one. The second treaty concerns cooperation and good-neighborly relations.

To Seek Compensation for 3d Reich Victims

LD0711164790 Warsaw PAP in English 1610 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Nov—"I have always believed that a presidential campaign should concern programmes and not candidates," Tadeusz Mazowiecki told a press conference organized by his campaign staff today. "I hope that other candidates will follow suit and present their stands. Only then we could hold a polemic," he added.

Referring to co-operation with a new government, Mazowiecki said his role as a president would boil down to settling strategic targets with a cabinet and added he would like to offer them experience he had been gathering over the past dozen or so months.

Concerning his forthcoming talks with Cancellor Kohl, Mazowiecki stated: "The thing is to to sign both treaties as soon as possible. I will also refer to compensations for Polish forced labourers in the Third Reich. Both chancellor Kohl and I believe that a special foundation should deal with the matter," he said.

Speaking about the powers of a future president, Mazowiecki said they should be similar to those General Jaruzelski was granted with but added they could be slightly widened.

Members of the campaign staff Aleksander Hall and Adam Szostkiewicz told reporters that the Polonian community in London would respect the decision declared by the Polish nation in presidential elections. They added that a campaign committee for Tadeusz Mazowiecki has been set up in Great Britain, and that similar bodies were established in Sweden, Denmark, France and the U.S.

Candidate Mazowiecki Interviewed on Presidency

AU0711145390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3-4 Nov 90 pp 8-11

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Anna Bikont and Helena Luczywo; place and date not given: "President of a Sensible Poland"]

[Text] [GAZETA WYBORCZA] After the May 1988 strike, the shipyard workers left the yard through that famous gate No. 2 with tears in their eyes behind you and Walesa, who were walking arm in arm. Were you aware that that strike, which you had lost, would herald a great victory, that it would mark the beginning of the end of communism?

[Mazowiecki] I could not have foreseen the precise course that events would take, but I was sure that the strike was not a defeat and that it would bear fruit.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The way out of the strike was prepared by you and the Kaczynski brothers among others. At the time did you expect that you would later go your own separate ways?

[Mazowiecki] Definitely not. When I took over the government, I expected there to be various difficulties, but I did not expect them to come from that quarter.

It is no secret that when I became prime minister—and I have not forgotten that it was Lech Walesa who proposed me for the post—I made it clear that I would not be a puppet prime minister. I think that at that time we were in agreement that he, being aware of the difficult situation in which the country found itself, would defend this government, and that really was the case for a long time.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] A few months ago at a meeting of the Citizens Committee, Bronislaw Geremek asked rather dramatically: Lech, which is the true Walesa, the one with the axe or the one that I have known for years? Do you also know two Walesas?

[Mazowiecki] I cannot, as a presidential candidate, behave like a young woman who has just reached marriageable age on television or anywhere else. I also cannot speak badly of Walesa. I cannot and do not want to speak badly of someone with whom I had much in common. I worked together with him for ten years, and I was, of course, aware of his faults. I have a certain liking for him; those feelings have not completely evaporated.

To be completely honest, I ask myself why I used to consider that Walesa manner of speaking, which is often so full of ambiguities, a plus—"I am for that and even against it" is how one of his colleagues put it—and now I do not. All I can say is that then, that way of speaking was directed against the common, totalitarian enemy. Today, now that the scene has become democratic, it serves as a means of securing a dominant position.

I found it sad and painful that the attack should have come from that quarter. I tried not to respond for a long time. I do not want to give as good as I have got, but a fact that cannot be overlooked is that being loyal and faithful to one's colleagues was never Walesa strongest point. What worries me most about his evolution is that he does not seem to be aware of this. However, I do want not to prejudge things: Perhaps this is only something temporary and Walesa's attitude will change.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] In her impressions of both candidates, which have been published in this paper, Ewa Berberyusz charges that the experts started off by exalting the "Solidarity" chairman and then dropped him.

[Mazowiecki] I did not drop Walesa. I took on a very important task and I tried to keep in touch with Walesa. However, he did not realize that it was a two-way process. As for exalting him, I do not think that I was particularly involved in that.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What have you not succeeded in achieving over this past year?

[Mazowiecki] I had hoped to achieve more rapid progress regarding housing construction, which is something of such fundamental importance for the younger generation. However, it turned out to be impossible to take firm action in this area while the fight against inflation was in progress.

I also hoped that society would become more active.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] When you became prime minister, you said that the success of the changes will depend on the extent to which people become involved. When people heard you say this on television, they were moved, and often had tears in their eyes. However, after being in existence for a year, the government has found itself without any kind of organized political power base: "Solidarity" has gone, and the citizens committees, although you personally tried to hold on to them, have gone. Was some kind of mistake made, or did events just follow their natural course?

[Mazowiecki] I would like to begin by saying that I feel enormous respect for society and for the attitude that it has displayed over this difficult year. I feel myself to be under an obligation not to disappoint the enormous number of people who realize that this transition could not be and cannot be easy. That people understand this is the fundamental source of my inner strength.

As for the problem of the government's political power base: I did not see there being much of a possibility of creating some kind of government party from above. It is an approach that never succeeds. However, I believed and continue to believe that there are many people in Poland who support the course that we represent, our course for achieving democracy and a free market economy.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] With hindsight, what would you have done differently?

[Mazowiecki] There is no doubt that the program for agriculture should have crystallized sooner.

We should also have handled the issue of the information provided by the government more effectively. Few people realized how complicated a question this is for the government nowadays; the government can no longer issue any orders or prohibit anything. In addition, it has now become natural for journalists to try to gain credibility primarily by criticizing the government or even by behaving maliciously toward it.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] However, which of the numerous charges leveled at the government do you believe not to be just malicious?

[Mazowiecki] Please tell me what they are and I will try to explain what I think of them.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] KONFRONTACJE wrote that from being champion of the "Solidarity" revolution, you have become the spokesman of an amorphous mixture of the old system and the new one.

[Mazowiecki] That is the same as saying that I am acting as a check on progress, and that is not true. The changes that have been initiated by the government are very great. However, if the transition to a new system is not to occur rapidly, but gradually, then elements of the new and the old have to coexist.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The main charge leveled at you by Lech Walesa is that you did not break with the existing political setup following the dissolution of the Polish United Workers Party. Why did you not do that? Were you comfortable with Jaruzelski as president, because he did not interfere?

[Mazowiecki] I do not remember Lech Walesa saying that at the time. So, I think it is unfair to then proceed to make that kind of accusation several months later. It is not true to say that no conclusions were drawn from the new political geography and that no appropriate steps were taken. We began to resolutely reform the Ministry of Internal Affairs, I appointed civilian deputy ministers to the Ministry of National Defense, and I brought forward the local government elections, which initiated the process of reform from below. I also came out clearly in favor of holding parliamentary elections by the spring of 1991 at the latest, for which I was attacked.

At the same time, I had to and have to deal with the same parliament. The charge that I have not changed the political setup and have not brought about new elections when parliament has still not set a date for them is demagogy.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] It is being said that what the government gives local government with one hand, it takes away with the other. Having brought forward the local government elections, will you defend local government against the state administration?

[Mazowiecki] I intend to setup a government commission that will include representatives of local government. The commission will examine all the difficulties that arise in relations between local government and the government administration, and conclusions will be drawn. It will propose amendments to the so-called powers act.

The course is a clear one. Everything that local government bodies can do effectively should be transferred to them. Those are the directives that I have given the voivodes.

I attach great importance to this and I believe that after the initial difficult period, they will coexist well. This is absolutely essential.

At the same time, I would like to stress that the voivodes are new people now, and today they can no longer be treated as representatives of the old apparatus. An efficient government administration is very important for the state.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] You mentioned changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the military. We know that doing things according to the law takes a long time, but could you not have made Krzysztof Kozlowski head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs sooner? And could the reform of the military not have gone beyond replacing two deputy ministers and several cosmetic changes? Some of the generals who belonged to the memorable Military Council for National Salvation still hold important posts in the military.

[Mazowiecki] Many people were discharged from the Ministry of Internal Affairs just after the new government was formed.

The new Office for the Protection of the State has been set up and all employees of the former security service were vetted, and of the 24,000 persons who used to work for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, only 7,000 are still employed today. We have started recruiting new people into the police force, and the problems that we are having in recruiting them shows how difficult it is to find new people.

The replacement of military personnel is proceeding smoothly, but resolutely. I think that the military has its pride and that should be respected. The basic issue is that today's military supports democratic changes—I am talking about the professional personnel and not just the conscripts—and it simply wants to be a Polish Army that will defend the state.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do you not think that many ministers have turned out to be too soft and are not resolute enough? Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz has become a symbol of consistent and firm action. The example of Balcerowicz, who is popular (as the opinion polls show) and who is being sought by the Walesa campaign staff, demonstrates that it pays to be resolute.

[Mazowiecki] I will gladly answer your question if you phrase it in more precise terms: In what respects have we not been energetic enough?

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] We would list them as follows: housing construction, where the ministry has shown itself to be helpless; the minister of domestic trade, who allowed the wholesale trade to collapse; the health minister, who has not accomplished much, or even nothing at all; the television president, who has not changed the absurdly inflated structures of the Radio and Television Committee and has brought about a situation in which most of the employees are against the government....

[Mazowiecki] I cannot deny that these and other areas of government activity can be legitimately criticized. However, I would ask not to be placed in rather an awkward situation. I expect loyalty of my ministers, and it would be a strange thing if I myself were to use press interviews to criticize them. I have other opportunities to do that. Work on programs is under way in all the ministries that you have mentioned, and as for television, we have submitted new draft regulations that are designed to bring about a fundamental reform of television.

In saying this, I am not trying to refrain from criticism of the government. It is obvious that some ministers have performed better than others. Could I have taken appropriate action sooner? Certainly, but please do not forget the difficulties that I had in the Sejm regrading changes in the government. That was also something that I had to take into consideration. Above all, I would like to remind you of two facts of a very general kind: There are few governments that have found themselves in the position of having to reform so many things at once, and there have been few governments that have had to operate within the constraints imposed by such limited financial resources, and that also determines how soon the effectiveness of certain actions is apparent.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] However, this does not explain why society was kept so poorly informed of what the government was doing. Was this not because it was assumed that society would go along with everything?

[Mazowiecki] To assume that would be shortsighted and absurd. So, please do not try to suggest that that is what

I think. In my opinion, it stems from something completely different. The government no longer directs propaganda, and new information mechanisms have not been created yet. This has given rise to a situation in which the government is constantly being accused of running everything, but, at the same time, there are few opportunities for the government to express its views in the mass media. ,

Besides, I think this raises an issue that is not just of immediate important, but of more long-term significance, namely, how does one create genuine and intelligent pluralism in the mass media, and how does one prevent the undermining of the common stock of values in the democratic state? How do we come close to the information ideal of the BBC or LE MONDE, which is something that is being widely discussed in Poland, but remains an ideal that we are still a long way from attaining. Does the fault lie solely with the government? It would be worth drawing an up assessment, and journalists should do the same, and there should be a serious discussion on this subject. That would be very necessary, because the mass media are, after all, the "fourth power," and their influence on the form of the future Poland is and will be significant.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Why was the teaching of religion introduced into schools in an underhand way, that is, during the Sejm recess? This decision went against the government's philosophy, that everything should take place in accordance with the proper legal procedures.

[Mazowiecki] I do not think that underhand is a good description. After all, it was no secret: There were the communiques issued by Joint Government Episcopate Commission.

I stand by the move. Attendance is voluntary. The decisions that parents make are not arrived in an atmosphere of grand debates. It seems to me that matter was settled in a peaceful way without having provoked any terrible conflicts.

I do not think that any cardinal principles of the rule-of-law state were violated. I think that the decision will be ratified by the Sejm—we will propose a minor draft reform of the 1961 education act.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] I have heard it said that Prime Minister Mazowiecki would not have behaved that way, but that Mazowiecki the presidential candidate had to ensure that the clergy was favorably disposed toward him.

[Mazowiecki] I do not use the issue as a bargaining instrument, and I will not use it in that way. I can only give you my word that neither breaking the law or the presidential campaign crossed my mind.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What are relations between the church and the state like, and what should they be like?

[Mazowiecki] It is an issue about which there are people who have misgivings, because they believe that too little consideration is given to the influence and position of the church, and then there are those who voice misgivings, because they believe the opposite to be true.

Relations between the church and the state should be good, but sovereign. In a country such as Poland, following the past forty years, and following the past ten years, during which the church played such an enormous role in the struggle for human rights and national sovereignty, it is hardly surprising that relations are so close and that the church is of such importance in public life.

The only thing is that this should not be at the expense of people who hold other beliefs, people of other denominations, and everyone should have the same rights. That is something that we will observe.

It should be remembered that the Polish church and Polish Catholicism have undergone enormous changes. I believe that precisely this open manner of understanding Catholicism and its implications for public life will set the tone. However, those are my personal convictions.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] However, it is difficult not to assert that your view is a subjective one, because you, as editor of WIEZ, played a very great role in fostering a open, tolerant, and non-nationalist form of Catholicism.

[Mazowiecki] Perhaps, but I generally count on what is good triumphing in society.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What is your position on the bill on the protection of the unborn child?

[Mazowiecki] I believe that human life should be protected from its beginning until death. It cannot be denied that the law that has been in force until now has encouraged a careless attitude toward these matters, and has caused enormous harm.

Over this past year—this is not widely known—we introduced changes into the health minister's executive order to take account of the church's most immediate suggestions.

However, it is a question of restoring a certain principle. I know that it is controversial issue and that there are controversies surrounding it in many countries, but for me it is a question of principle. It would not be honest of me not to set my position clearly.

Parliament will determine the final form that the law on the protection of the unborn child takes. I think that it should not be forgotten that legal provisions do not solve problems by themselves, and that there is a need for a great deal of educational and self- help work. We should not lose sight of this aspect of the problem.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The government is accused of not having a uniform foreign policy.

[Mazowiecki] I think that the charge is completely false. If one does not consider it foolish or malicious, then it can only be viewed as a reference to old stereotypes according to which there must be an alliance with someone directed against someone else. The architecture of the Europe that is coming into being requires that Poland maintain good relations with all its neighbors. The basic direction of our foreign policy is to turn our traditionally bad position into a new active policy.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What is your assessment of this past year? On the one hand, the government scored significant diplomatic successes and, on the other hand, various conflicts have surfaced.

[Mazowiecki] Our decisions were completely sovereign. Decisions were made here, in Poland, in Warsaw, and not outside the country. There was no interference in our sovereignty.

Recognition of Polish sovereignty is a fact that was not completely apparent just one year ago. I would remind you that just after the government that I lead was formed, Ceausescu called on all the communist parties to defend real socialism. I have mentioned that just to illustrate the scale of the changes that have taken place.

From the very first moment, I have sought to make our neighbors in the east understand that Poland can and will pursue a friendly policy toward them and that it is not necessary for there to be communist government to pursue such a policy. We have achieved that and that represents a great historic success.

When Poland is compared to other countries, as is sometimes done, it is charged that Poland's foreign policy has been too cautious and not radical enough. One thing is forgotten: Poland occupies a different location from, for example, Poland [as published] or Hungary, and that the Russia's mistrust of Poland is greater than it is in relation to these other countries.

A responsible Polish government must take all these things into consideration.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] In you opinion, do you think that we should have special relations of some kind linking us to Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine?

[Mazowiecki] During Minister Skubiszewski's latest visit, we initiated relations on two levels: relations with the USSR as a whole, and relations with the individual republics. No one has done done that yet, and we are paving the way.

We have to remove the accumulation of mutual antipathies, foster relations between the societies that are as deep as possible, and develop good relations between states. At the same time Poland, which has changed its attitude toward minorities, must see to it and will see to it that the rights of Polish minorities in Lithuania and elsewhere are respected. However, we cannot and should not do this by interfering in the form that the Lithuanian state takes.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do you consider the treaty with Germany as an international success first and foremost, or do you consider it a domestic success, that is, in terms of allaying anti-German fears and an increased feeling of security on the part of the Poles?

[Mazowiecki] I see it in different terms. One could not have begun to develop good relations without finally clearing up the border question, because it would have always come up.

I would like to remind you that when I said in London that Poland would have to be present at the "two-plus-four" conference, many people considered that to be something of a wild goose chase and a superfluous gesture. In the meantime, world opinion has recognized that we were right and we did take part.

I expect that the question of the past, that is, the border treaty, will be settled during my November talks with Chancellor Kohl, and we will initiate cooperation between our societies and economic cooperation for the future.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do you expect Chancellor Kohl to agree to the abolition of visas for Poles now?

[Mazowiecki] I would very much like that.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do you also expect there to be some progress on the question of other European visas?

[Mazowiecki] We raised this issue during all our talks, and we will do so consistently, and I hope that we will achieve a breakthrough. However, I would like to point out that public opinion in Poland does not view the present situation as a manifestation of hostility toward Poles. There are the employment and trade problems. It has to be remembered that in the case of the Czechs and the Hungarians there is not the same economic emigration that there is in the case of Poland.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What foreign policy problems will the government be faced with now?

[Mazowiecki] In November we will be starting on what will already be very concrete talks on the withdrawal of Soviet forces. I believe that it should take place before the end of the year.

We also have difficult economic problem with the USSR: settlements from the past; current deliveries, and, finally, future prospects: All European countries have to treat the Russian market very seriously. We have to see to it that we are also present in that market. That is an important element of our foreign policy.

As far as other international issues are concerned, I would mention our efforts on the debt question. Then, we will shortly be taking part in the CSCE conference.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] A lot of experience has been gained over the past year. As president, what changes to the functioning of the government would you propose?

[Mazowiecki] First, the form that the government takes, and the character and number of ministries. It would be a good thing if the future president and government were to have greater freedom on this issue than has been the case until now.

Second, the government had to concentrate on an enormous amount of legislative activity and proposed over 100 bills. It will now become necessary to see to implementation and efficient execution.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Commenting on the internment of former party activists in the underground publication INTERNOWANIE you wrote: "All this desire for revenge directed at people who are already finished politically has always aroused feelings of disgust in me." Do you often feel this way now?

[Mazowiecki] At the moment no one has been taking revenge on former party activists. I find venting one's feelings on these people repugnant, especially when it comes from those who kept quiet in the past. It arouses disgust in me, but when I say that I am branded a defender of the nomenklatura.

Whatever we might think, it should not be forgotten that the old authorities played their part in this transition and in the transfer of power. There would not have been this transition had it not been for the roundtable, which is so maligned now.

And it seems to me to be completely absurd to invent some kind of secret Magdalenka treaty, one that never existed. I am trying to persuade Bishop Orszulik to release his Magdalenka notes and dispel all these myths. Besides, concerning all the sides in today's dispute within "Solidarity," they were all represented at Magdalenka, and they know perfectly well what happened there and what is myth.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Our victory over communism has been called a "victory without rejoicing." The festivities, the ritual of common rejoicing at victory creates a feeling of a community. Did you not miss a splendid opportunity when the Central Committee building was taken over? You do not have any sense for theatricality, of joy at defeating the enemy, for spectacular gestures. To what extent do you personally decide about government policy?

[Mazowiecki] I never stop anyone form making spectacular gestures. I know that these are gestures that society needs. If they are gestures that I like, then I will be pleased to take part in them. On other hand, I am no expert at that kind of thing. I am sure that Havel is better at that.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Writing in GAZETA WYBORCZA when you became prime minister, Adam Michnik compared you to Kutuzov in Tolstoy's "War and Peace." Is he a character that you identify with?

[Mazowiecki] Kutuzov's profound wisdom, that he knew when to retreat in order to advance, Kutuzov as he is portrayed in "War and Peace," fascinates me. I no doubt possess some of the features of his personality.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Could one describe your credo as resolutely forward, but without any fireworks? Can one say that you prefer the path of reason to the path of hope, although hope is an enormous motivating force?

[Mazowiecki] I do not think there is a conflict between reason and hope.

Hope against hope is the Polish reality. It is this hope that made us. It is a great gift to possess that hope, and I appeal to it. What I offer is hope that is not easy to have, the hope that we must build things together, and not some illusory promises that everything can be changed immediately.

Hope enables one to carry on and go forward; hope that Poland has a very great opportunity to create a democratic state and an expanding economy, not a stagnating one.

We will arrive at a normal state of affairs, which will allow us to breathe, which will see hopefulness, goodwill, cheerfulness, openness, and mutual tolerance, in which we will not be burdened with the difficulties of daily life, and we will eventually get onto the right path.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] In your opinion, what sort of powers should the president possess?

[Mazowiecki] He should be more than a figurehead president. He has to shape foreign and defenses policy strategy. He should not interfere in ongoing government activities, but he should, nevertheless, have an influence on fundamental issues.

A president elected by universal suffrage can and should have markedly greater freedom to exercise his right to initiate legislation than President Jaruzelski, who, for understandable reasons, did not exercise his powers.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So, your vision is one of a strong Presidency.... Has no model of government-president-parliament relations been worked out?

[Mazowiecki] Today, what parliament is often misunderstood. It is the legislature, and the existence of an opposition within it controls the government's majority. However, parliament must be aware of the limits of its power, otherwise executive power is paralyzed.

Besides, I have yet to meet a head of government who is satisfied with his parliament. All the prime ministers and presidents that I have spoken to complain.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What do you expect the outcome of the elections to be?

[Mazowiecki] I think that whoever wins will only win by a slim majority.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Whose support are you counting on in these elections?

[Mazowiecki] I am appealing to the common sense Poland, a Poland that is on the way to achieving better times, a Poland that understands that we cannot squander what we have accomplished, and I think that that Poland exists in all social groups.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do you feel closer to the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action or the Forum of the Democratic Right?

[Mazowiecki] Do I have to make a choice?

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Regardless of whether you win or Walesa wins, there will be a strong opposition. How will this impact on political life?

[Mazowiecki] I want to say that there has been one fundamental change above all: The elimination of one's opponents from the political scene is out of the question. The totalitarian system did not, by definition, tolerate opposition and sought to eliminate it, at times even physically. The democratic law-governed state is a state in which the existence of an opposition and the coexistence of various political tendencies is normal.

The next issue is that of respecting the will of the electorate. One respects the will of the electorate and one does not seek to undermine it. So, the results of the election will settle the issue.

Finally, in a democratic state all kinds of coalitions are possible and one does not automatically become an opposition. However, in a situation such as this, in which the government's program has been completely rejected over the past few months, should I lose, going into opposition would be the only answer.

However, the opposition must also be concerned about the common good. It should not be an opposition that will seek to undermine things, but one that will recognize that there are common issue that cannot be called into question.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Following the formation of the Center Accord, one noticed that the government speeded up its work. Would a strong opposition grouped around Walesa—assuming that he should lose—cause the new authorities to act more resolutely?

[Mazowiecki] The fact that the government drew conclusions from the criticism that was made of it is something normal and nothing that the government should be ashamed of. As for the second question, it is not the case that first there is an election and then some great unknown. We will carry on living and the country will continue to exist. This difficult period for Poland is not over yet, and there has to be a consensus that we have to go through it. Cooperation is necessary.

I think that among my opponents in the Center grouping, there are people who view these matters sensibly. Our fragile state has to be strengthened, and we cannot take up positions as if there were some great upheavals to be settled. The president's first task will be to mend what has come undone during the election campaign as much as possible.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Did you take such a long time to decide to run for the presidency, because of the damage that would later have to be repaired?

[Mazowiecki] That was also a consideration. I realize that if I win there might be a strong opposition and that it will not be easy to create some kind of democratic modus vivendi. However, I will be an advocate of that kind of modus vivendi.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] All kinds of demons have emerged from the Pandora's box that has been opened during this election campaign: intolerance, anti-Semitism, mudslinging. Do you have some ready recipe for closing it again?

[Mazowiecki] I do not. However, I think that what is important in relations between people is the ability to appeal to the good sides of the human character, and not to become trapped in those aspects that we consider to be bad. That will call for a great effort. Personally, I believe that this is possible in Poland, but I would not conceal the fact that it worries me greatly.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] And now for a question that you will not answer: Who will be prime minister if you are president?

[Mazowiecki] I do see some possible candidates on the horizon, but I would not like to make some kind of statement committing myself.

I do not have any kind of Machiavellian reasons for not answering your question. There will still have to parliamentary elections, so the future president will have to decide whether he is going to nominate a prime minister for a transitional period, until the elections take place, or whether it will be someone who will continue to run the work of the government afterwards, and that will also depend on the future arrangement of forces in parliament.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Writing in POLITYKA, Zdislaw Pietrasik said that when you became prime minister, there was an enormous need for for a politician martyr, someone who would arouse sympathy, a politician who was like all of society. What, in your opinion, does society need now?

[Mazowiecki] I think that there is a social need for us to be respected in the world and for us to have success.

I am convinced that we are having success. The only thing is that the elections have come at a time when society is still having to bear the highest costs, and the results that have been obtained are just beginning to become apparent. However, time, which is the most precious commodity during these changes, is not something that we have been made a present of; it has to be seized from the rapid course of history.

Presidential Candidates' Access to TV Described

AU0511171790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3-4 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Michal Bukowski and Grzegorz Sieczkowski report: "One Television Camera for Two Candidates"]

[Text] There is one portable television camera for every two presidential candidates, meaning that two groups of people have access to only one camera for one day. Mazowiecki's staff has struck a deal with Tyminski's staff to share a camera; as far as the remaining candidates, sharing the camera is primarily a question of fate. Thus, Cimoszewicz shares a camera with Bartoszcze, and Walesa shares another with Moczulski.

The election studio of Polish TV offered every candidate the use of professional television facilities, but they all refused. It is known, however, that Wojciech Reszczynski and several other television employees have taken leave without pay to help Walesa produce election bulletins. Another two television reporters are working for Tyminski. Mazowiecki and Walesa both have special film teams working for them.

Each "pair" of candidates has the use of a camera for 12 hours, from 0800 to 2000. If they use Polish TV equipment and if the material to be broadcast the same evening., it has to be delivered to Polish TV by 1300. But if they use their own equipment, they have to deliver the material 12 hours prior to airtime. So far, only Roman Bartoszcze has recorded his election speeches in the television studios.

Each candidate can use only the airtime that has been allocated to him on a given program. He can of course use less, but not more.

There is a special liaison committee consisting of heads of the television election studio and representatives of each of the six presidential candidates. It meets every few days, and its only complaint so far has been the quality of Polish TV documentaries.

The number of phone calls to the election studio is surprisingly small. There are no more than a dozen or so calls every day.

During the last four days of the presidential campaign (from 19 to 22 October), the election studio will broadcast twice daily—30 minutes after the evening news on program one, and 10 minutes after "Panorama of the Day" on program two.

According to television reporter Andrzej Turski, the candidates' representatives initially did not trust the Polish TV staff: "They feared the competition would be allowed to preview the program and to prepare a reply. Now they do not even enter the studios."

The employees of the election studio are of course quite happy about this lack of trust. There are times, however, when they would like representatives of the various candidates to be present during program editing. This way they would be able to settle various problems, without taking all responsibility for the program. The television employees still fear the candidates will blame them for mishaps. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz has suffered the greatest mishap to date. A female doctor took part in his program, but the team that recorded her remarks omitted to tell her that she would appear in the election program. During his election slot on 1 November, Cimoszewicz apologized saying the incident occured without his knowledge.

Walesa To Leave Solidarity Post if Election Lost

LD0711210990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] The Solidarity national commission meeting in Gdansk was dominated by Lech Walesa's presidential campaign and by strike tension in Poland. Lech Walesa announced that if he lost the presidential election, he would resign from the post of chairman of Solidarity. The union is going to have to fight and I do not want to lead that; thus people will not say that I am trying to get my own back, he said.

National Solidarity Meeting Airs Current Concerns

LD0711230190 Warsaw PAP in English 2140 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Gdansk, 7 Nov—The Solidarity National Committee held a meeting here today. The part of the meeting devoted to political issues was dominated by problems connected with Lech Walesa's presidential campaign and strike tensions in all Poland.

The meeting pointed to tendencies—considered as dangerous—to deepen divisions in the union and in society as a whole following an involvement of Solidarity activists in the electoral campaign.

We should neither level out political differences nor antagonize society so as not to create ditches which would be difficult to refill, participants in the meeting said.

Solidarity links should not be broken in the course of the electoral campaign and a road to a possible future coalition should not be closed. It is not Mazowiecki who is the threat but the left which effortlessly managed to collect 300,000 signatures. This has been testimony to the rebuilding of its influence, Jan Rulewski said.

While taking part in the discussion, Lech Walesa said he was ready at any time to quit the campaign if his running for president would be considered as the building of a personal career.

"I am afraid for reforms because they are 'jammed.' Advisors were confused but I have a chance to do this. I have arguments from the past that claim Mazowiecki is poor, but I do not know what kind of a president he would make. Let Poland make her choice," said Walesa.

Lech Walesa announced that if he lost the elections he would resign from the post of Solidarity chairman.

"I will have no choice as Mazowiecki will not manage and the union will be forced to fight. I will have to resign in order not to fight as one will say I am taking my revenge. My role will be finished," said he.

While discussing strike tensions, the national committee adopted a stand in which it expressed its concern for the situation and considered it necessary to start talks with the government. The talks are to focus on principles of negotiations between the government and trade unions in order to establish a system of immediate warning and prompt reaction.

The committee said negotiations should also cover structural changes and transformations in significant economic sectors, namely, mining, public services, railway, metallurgical and light industries. In Solidarity's opinion the government should also discuss further economic changes, namely, ownership transformations, and tax and pay system.

Intelligence Service Not Serving KGB in U.S.

PM0711155390 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish
22 Oct 90 pp 1-2

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Krzysztof Kozlowski by Leslaw Maleszka; place and date not given; first two paragraphs are GAZETA KRAKOWSKA introduction]

[Text] Issue No. 147-148 of CZAS KRAKOWSKI carries an interview with John Barron. Thirty years ago Barron was an U.S. intelligence officer in Berlin (1955-57); subsequently, he took up journalism. He wrote a number of books in which he dealt with secrets of the KGB and the functioning of the Soviet intelligence network in the West. In the interview which was published in CZAS KRAKOWSKI, Barron stated, among other things: "It is, however, necessary to emphasize that Polish intelligence services are still very active on behalf of the KGB, at least in the United States. Regardless of what has taken place in Poland, the Polish intelligence service continues to operate as an auxiliary KGB service in the United States."

We asked the Internal Affairs Minister, Krzysztof Kozlowski, to comment on this statement.

[Kozlowski] John Barron bases his assertions on information available several, or even more, years ago. Barron belongs to that school of Sovietologists which negates the transformations which have taken place in East Europe, believing them to be a form of camouflage devised to obscure the evil empire under indivisible KGB control. All of Barron's allegations about the Polish intelligence service's present activity and its links with the KGB is a reporter's fabrication or, to use a simpler term, a downright lie. There is no way you can argue with unfounded speculations concocted by an author of sensationalist books. All the same, I find it regrettable that this type of nonserious fictional piece—with which I myself have been familiar for some weeks and which was previously rejected by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY editors—is now being used in the election campaign. This is because it is an affront to Poland's good name in the international arena and to our reason of state. You can criticize the government, but it is a detestable thing to make defamatory statements against the authority of the Polish state.

[Maleszka] While we are on the subject, let us throw some light on a few relevant details. It is, after all, true that a Polish intelligence network operated on U.S. territory, and that it collaborated with the KGB.

[Kozlowski] The network in question has been completely dismantled. All its operatives were recalled to Poland and there subjected to a vetting procedure similar to that applied in the case of former Security Service [SB] officers. The only difference was, perhaps, that especially stringent criteria were applied to the former intelligence agents.

In addition, this year we carried out an almost wholesale change of personnel in nearly all posts in the Polish diplomatic service. On the whole, Polish intelligence is not particularly interested in geographically distant countries. Barron's allegation that we still infiltrate the Polish community in the United States is nothing short of slander.

[Maleszka] Is it not to be feared that certain agents of Polish intelligence may have transferred their allegiance and their services to the KGB, just as was the case with Stasi agents?

[Kozlowski] I cannot vouch that certain individual agents have not been recruited abroad to work for Moscow's intelligence network. However, I can confirm that the entire structure of our network abroad has certainly been dismantled and that its agents have returned to Poland.

[Maleszka] How many spies did Poland employ in the United States?

[Kozlowski] ... [as published; no answer printed]

[Maleszka] Could you indicate the magnitude of the numbers we are talking about here? Hundreds? Thousands?

[Kozlowski] Contrary to all speculation, the proportion of intelligence officers in Polish diplomatic services in the West was not much higher than a dozen or so percent. It is another consideration altogether, though, that the embassies created sinecure positions for a variety of political activists who were removed from their political posts. Occasionally, Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW] employees also found their way into these positions. These were not necessarily officers employed by Department I (Intelligence), and they did not operate there as spies but as members of the nomenklatura awaiting retirement.

[Maleszka] Upward of a dozen percent of intelligence agents, calculated from the total of....

[Kozlowski] The whole contingent of Polish diplomats abroad totaled about 1,000 people.

[Maleszka] Upward of a dozen percent of 1,000—this comes to more than a hundred spies.

[Kozlowski] I have not heard this question.

[Maleszka] All right. Apart from these, there were also the spies installed not in consulates or embassies but in the LOT airlines travel offices, commercial firms, and so on....

[Kozlowski] As it happens, there were no such agents in the United States or in other countries of the American Continent.

[Maleszka] In earlier years the MSW applied a variety of different surveillance methods with respect to Polish scientists visiting foreign countries on scientific grants. Before they even left they were summoned for talks, and after they returned they were ordered to submit written reports...

[Kozlowski] Please feel free to give me even one example of this kind of practice taking place today. Insinuations suggesting that Polish scientists are in the service of the KGB amount to deliberate action to the detriment of our science and learning and they do harm to the development of contacts with Western scientific and academic establishments. And the accusation itself is completely false.

[Maleszka] Barron claims that Polish intelligence agents were the most frequent defectors to the U.S. side.

[Kozlowski] This is also untrue. In any case, the question is completely irrelevant today; but I can say, for the benefit of future historians, that such cases of defection happened extremely rarely.

[Maleszka] What is the essence of the cooperation between the MSW and the KGB today?

[Kozlowski] It involves courtesy contacts between official representatives of our respective state intelligence services attached to the embassies in Warsaw and in Moscow.

[Maleszka] What do these courtesy contacts concern?

[Kozlowski] All matters requiring speedy intervention. At the moment our attention is focused mainly on the activities of Polish-Soviet smuggling gangs.

[Maleszka] Does Poland maintain contacts with the CIA?

[Kozlowski] We aim to maintain contacts with all police and intelligence organizations which can assist us in combating terrorism, the narcotics trade, and international organized crime. A representative of the French police took up residence in Poland some three weeks ago. He will soon be followed by a representative of the Swedish police. We are also setting up an Interpol bureau in Warsaw.

[Maleszka] What about contacts with the post-communist countries?

[Kozlowski] Next Tuesday I will visit Budapest. A delegation from the State Protection Office visited there a month ago.

[Maleszka] Is the CIA active on Polish territory?

[Kozlowski] I suggest you address this question to the U.S. Government.

[Maleszka] Is the MSW aware of any CIA activity on Polish territory?

[Kozlowski] I would not expect such powerful states as the United States or the USSR to be indifferent to what is happening in a country like Poland, which is, after all, territorially large and quite important. Especially as a great deal is indeed happening here.

[Maleszka] Are you afraid of spies?

[Kozlowski] Certainly not. Intelligence services are today the hope of the present world, constituting, as they do, instruments geared to the transmission of accurate information. This is because only accurate information can prepare ground for genuine, serious political contacts and interplay between countries. The majority of international conflicts arise as a consequence of false information—not least, of the kind offered us by Mr. Barron.

[Maleszka] Is a spy a positive hero, then?

[Kozlowski] Yes, as long as he gathers information. Naturally, as soon as he begins to intervene in the internal policy of the given country and act in the interest of destabilization, he is to be viewed as an agent whose activity is harmful and should be countered. But the gathering of information... As for myself, I would in any case prefer the Americans to collect information about the work of the Polish MSW from their own intelligence sources rather than from stupid texts proffered by John Barron. I trust professional intelligence agents rather more than authors of sensationalist literature.

[Maleszka] Thus, the sinister image of the spy will eventually be consigned to the trash can in today's world, will it not?

[Kozlowski] In tomorrow's world, which is beginning today. I believe in the future and in an intelligence service which will not embarrass anyone.

UDMR Position on Events in Bessarabia

AU0811101590 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 1 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Odon Bitay, spokesman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), by Smaranda Nistor; place and date not given: "The UDMR Is Against the Proclamation of the Gagauz and Trans-Dniestrian Republics"; first graf is DIMINEATA introduction]

[Text] Mr. Odon Bitay, spokesman of the UDMR, was kind enough to speak about this political formation's position on the events in Bessarabia.

[Nistor] Would you please specify the principled position of the UDMR in connection with the events in Bessarabia.

[Bitay] The UDMR, a broad formation rallying the Hungarian minority in Romania, whose main aim is to create a state of law in Romania and a genuinely democratic Romania, has followed with concern the development of events in Bessarabia. Under the current historic circumstances, when economic-social problems are of absolute priority, coming up with strictly political demands is neither opportune nor desired.

The proclamation of the Gagauz and Trans-Dniestrian Republics under circumstances of great unrest are meant to turn attention away from the basic problems of the crisis, thereby obligating the state bodies to allocate material means and channeling manpower in a direction which will give rise only to discord and to increased tension.

Being a member of antitotalitarian democratic forums in several counties, the UDMR also signed the resolution of the Cluj Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum convention on 25 October, a document which—under point 13—stipulates the following: "We support the demand of the Moldavian Democratic Front to preserve the territorial integrity of the Moldavian Republic."

[Nistor] Does the UDMR believe that there are historic or other reasons to justify these events?

[Bitay] Our answer on the nature and sense of proclaiming new state formations, thus dismembering the Moldavian Republic, is clear. The existence of ethnic groups as a result of historic developments is also an undeniable fact with all the consequences deriving from their presence in Moldavia. In the process of the formation of the democratic Moldavian state, the opportunity will arise to create local autonomies for these ethnic groups within the framework of the Moldavian state, thus preserving the territorial integrity of the country—a basic condition for a harmonious development within the European context.

Editorial note: The affirmation "in the process of the formation of the Moldavian democratic state the opportunity will arise to create local autonomies for these ethnic groups within the framework of the Moldavian state" is puzzling. In opting for democracy, the eastern states or state entities, like the Moldavian Republic itself, also opted for decentralization and autonomy. We have to know, however, what we are talking about. The degree and nature of such an autonomy must be specified. One has to specify especially that we are neither talking about political autonomy, nor about destabilizing autonomy, nor about national and ethnic pride. We have to know that any kind of autonomy does not pursue the institutionalization of chauvinism.

Joint Business Talks Held With Austria 7 Nov

AU0711172590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1527 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—Under the aegis of Romania's Chamber for Trade and Industry and Austria's Federal Economic Chamber, talks started in Bucharest Wednesday, November 7, between representatives of Austrian business circles and Romanian economic agents and representatives of Romania's local chambers for trade.

The agenda of the talks, scheduled over two days, includes extended economic and cooperation exchanges between Austrian and Romanian partners in areas of mutual interest, identification of possibilities to promote investments in Romania in telecommunications, civil engineering, food and medicine industry and in other industrial branches.

France To Help Handicapped, Abandoned Children

AU0711193190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1852 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—On Wednesday [7 November] the French-Romanian convention was signed in Bucharest on improving the situation of abandoned and handicapped children in Romania.

Present at the signing ceremony, Prime Minister Petre Roman specified that the document concretely contributed to consolidating the new ties between France and Romania. "The fact that France is present in Bucharest today to establish the efficient framework of the French people's humanitarian feelings for Romania and its problems is a genuine success. The merit goes to Mr. Kouchner who had the initiative of that document. I'd like to convey to you, on behalf of the Romanian Government and people, our gratitude for France and the French people."

In his turn, Mr. Bernard Kouchner, secretary of state in charge with humanitarian actions, who signed the convention on France's behalf, showed that that was the beginning of a humanitarian aid to be expanded which would give the French people the opportunity for concrete help.

Protests Against Price Liberalization Continue

AU0711214990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2038 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—On Wednesday afternoon a few hundred people gathered again in the University Square to protest against price liberalization. Like on the previous days, at about 6.30 p.m. demonstrators occupied the middle of the street. The police intervened.

Traffic was resumed at 7.45 p.m.

Antigovernment Demonstrations in Craiova 7 Nov

AU0711215690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2058 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—Wednesday evening about 200 Craiova inhabitants, youths in their majority, organized an unauthorized march in the central streets of that town. They chanted anti-communist slogans, demanded the resignation of the government and of President Iliescu. Police ensured the protesters' protection.

The demonstrators left the Central Square in Craiova at the order-keeping forces' appeal. No incidents were recorded.

'Face the Nation' Interviews Roman on Reforms

AU0711203890

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Television Network in Romanian at 1945 GMT on 26 October broadcasts the first program in a new series entitled "Face the Nation." Today's program includes Mircea Hamza's 50-minute interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman.

At the beginning of the interview, the reporter asks Roman about the consequence of the report on the government program that he presented to Parliament the previous week.

Roman says that the government program "is the program of the strategy of transition to market economy" and it is "a true instrument of the transition" because it contains concrete ways and measures for implementing the new economic system. Asked about the meaning of the "legal shock" that people in the West are talking about, Roman says that legal shock is a result of the market economy which cannot be established with old laws, because "as long as we operate with old economic systems, government actions will be blocked." Roman says: "It is not enough to implement two or three laws on market economy; we need a group of laws to ensure the implementation of the market economy" because "we have torn ourselves away from the old system to which we never want to return." He states that "as long as the government does not have its instruments of action—meaning laws—it is limited in its actions."

Asked about the meaning of economic liberalization, Roman says: "When we talk about economic liberalization, it has nothing to do with the liberal option which is an ideology, a philosophy," and in a way, is even a conservative ideology. He says that the government wants to implement the liberalization with a strong emphasis on social life, meaning that a correct distribution of everything that is being produced in Romania has to be carried out.

In connection with the issue of price liberalization, Roman says that the government is obligated to explain to citizens "why this is an absolute necessity." He says that price liberalization is "the means by which we eliminate a false economic image." Roman provides a very good example—using shoe production, supply, and demand—to explain what price liberalization means, how in the new system the producer has an incentive to stimulate production and the quality of his products. Competition also appears in the new system, which eventually will make prices decrease while quality improves. The government is also concerned about protecting consumers; therefore, it urges Parliament to pass adequate laws. Thus, it has already advanced proposals for the law on foreign investors. There are very many foreign investors who come to Romania, says Roman, but they want to see the legal framework in which they can operate.

The reporter then asks Roman whether the trade unions' were justified in their complaint that they were not consulted before the government advanced a bill. Roman says that they held talks but opinions sometimes differed; furthermore, some people mix the meaning of consulting with the trade unions with agreeing with them—"certainly, there is a conflict of interests."

Regarding the situation in enterprises, Roman says that workers in factories "sense that something fundamental is happening, but there is a great deal of ignorance about what is actually happening in the economy." The government will assist enterprises if need be. If they present a proper plan for the way in which they intend to implement changes, the state will grant them credit for their ventures.

Asked about the so-called enemies of the reform, such as bureaucracy or mistrust, Roman says that "people have no concrete notion about how to operate an economy under greater freedom and competition" and all that generates mistrust.

Parliament Holds Joint Session on Reforms

AU0711172790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1536 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—The debates on the prime minister's report on the reform programme highlighted a number of objective and subjective causes which triggered serious shortages in the Romanian economy in the ongoing year the diminution of production and of economic efficiency in general, a stepped-up state of poverty of the population. Some of the government steps intended to contribute to a certain measure of economic and social recovery in the country were dubbed as "worthy of esteem and respect", while others were criticized and considered as "hasty" or as "having been taken without proper knowledge of the situation." Noteworthy among the latter was the price-liberalization drive, which all speakers considered essential for the passage to a market economy. Other parliamentarians said it should be postponed or at least limited to certain groups of products until an able economic framework was created and a fair protection of citizens ensured.

Quite controversial were also the talks on the government's request to be granted greater attributes in the current stage of more rapid action in the economy. Many speakers were in favor of that request, considering that the government was worthy of the parliament's confidence and should be more operative in applying the envisaged programme of reforms. However, there were voices against the granting of special attributes to the executive.

The talks on the items in the agenda of the joint session of the two parliamentary chambers continued.

During the morning session, the Romanian Parliament welcomed the presence in the meeting hall of a parliamentary delegation from Australia, who are visiting Romania.

Despite arguments set forth by senators and deputies, as well as by the presidents of the two chambers in support of the government's request to be temporarily granted greater attributes in the application of the reform, a decision on that issue was not made. It is to be adopted next week separately in the Senate and in the Assembly of Deputies. Most parliamentarians (there were only 31 votes against and 12 abstentions) opted for that formula, which gives then time to think over the opportune character of the executive's request.

At the end of the proceedings it was announced that on Wednesday afternoon and throughout Thursday the parliamentarians would analyze new draft normative acts by specialized commissions.

Severn Explains Price Liberalization, Reforms

AU0711193390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1837 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—Price liberalization is not the only item in our reform programme, Mr. Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister in charge of reform and relation with the Parliament, said. The programme is ampler and ought to be seen as a whole. We do not propose an increase but a liberalization of the prices. Price liberalization does not equate price increase. Unfortunately, I noticed even the foreign press is making that confusion, probably due to some talks here. Price liberalization may means both higher and lower prices, according to the market value of goods, subject to supply and demand. What could be done to lower prices? Simply produce more. A big production of all sorts of commodities is bound to result in lower prices. We could also reduce some elements which form the costs. That means we should work better, the minister underlined. A deeper involvement of the employees in their working activity may directly influence a lowering of prices. Our population is still in the habit of thinking that prices will grow or drop according to the state's good will, or to the government's good will, or to the government's good humour at a certain moment. From now on, however, the main factor, or one of the main factors, will be the quantity and quality of the work performed by the population.

There are, certainly, some circumstantial elements which may cause an increase in prices although people might be working well. It is only in such cases that the government will grant subsidies? The present programme, which should not cause any fears, covers such situations. But another major change as against the old system occurs here: the buyer will be now the recipient of such subsidies instead of the producer. Thus, for consumer goods, the consumer will receive the subsidy which until now was going to the producer.

It is therefore wrong to say, as I have again read in the foreign press, that the state has withdrawn its subsidies. The state did not withdraw its subsidies for important commodities but simply changed destination. They are no longer granted to the producer, but to the buyer. Reasonable consumption levels will also be considered, because, for instance, if a loaf of bread is three lei, bread has become the cheapest animal food, which is both incomprehensible and unacceptable. That explains why certain types of fodder are kept in the granges instead of being taken out for sale, although prices are increasing for such goods and there is a shortage on the market.

Press Reaction to Price Liberalization Continues

AU0711172390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1508 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—"TRIBUNA ECONOMICA": "Compared to other states embarking on the transition to a market economy, in Romania great shortages of most consumer goods and services prevent a correct perception and appropriation of price liberalization principles.

"DREPTATEA": "A different moment and different conditions should have been chosen for liberalization of prices with the ground duly prepared to avert worsening the people's economic standard, and social unrest."

"ADEVARUL": "Higher costs of paper and printing might push to bankruptcy publications that are doing a great service to the country at present."

"TINERETUL LIBER": A poll among students of economics in the article "Price Liberalization as Seen by Students" quotes: "As long as productive units belong to the state, either that they are called autonomous public companies or anything else, we can hardly talk of liberalization", said a student of the Faculty of General Economics.

Roman Strikes Out at Price Violators

AU0711153290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Statement by Prime Minister Petre Roman to Romanian Radio and Television, in Bucharest on 7 November—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] This afternoon, Prime Minister Petre Roman spoke to our government correspondent and made the following statement for Romanian radio and television:

[Roman] I received a list with the posted prices—that is, prices which were seen displayed in various Bucharest shops—which was handed over to me by our control organs. In these posted prices, there are serious and totally inadmissible violations of the government decision on price liberalization. Thus, a price increase is posted for French bread and regular bread—from four lei to eight lei; for coffee, the increase is announced from 420 lei to 543 lei and 75 bani, when, we have actually decided—in view of the current convertibility rate of the lei—that it should actually decrease from 420 to 350 lei. Likewise, the price of instant coffee should have probably remained the same. These are direct, serious, and dangerous violations. Apart from this, price increases are announced for cutlets, pastrami, and smoked fillet, which, in my opinion, have not been negotiated between the producers and the end users.

I would like to firmly state that there can only be two explanations for this state of affairs. Either the clerks at various administrative levels have failed to do their duty—some may have even encouraged these price increases—or we are faced with attempts at thievery in the trade network. In connection with the first explanation—namely, the clerks in the administrative apparatus—we may even be faced here with an attempt to incite the population against this decision—that is, with a deliberate attempt at incitement—to undermine the policy of price liberalization. Concerning the second explanation, theft, we are currently investigating such instances to give out harsh punishment. Such violations of legal decisions are very serious, because of the wrong impression they create. They are also particularly grave, because they obviously affect and disquiet the population. That is why I wanted to make this statement. Thank you.

Social Justice Party President Outlines Aims

AU0711082390 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 1 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Pompiliu Mateescu, president of Free Democratic Social Justice Party, by Emilia Vasiliu; place and date not given: "Extraparliamentary Groups"]

[Text] [Vasiliu] Mr. Mateescu, as president of the Free Democratic Social Justice Party, you recently initiated a new alliance—after the center group "New Romania" and "'New Romania' National Alliance." I am talking about the "'New Romania' National Alliance" established on 13 October. What is its aim and what political forces have joined it so far?

[Mateescu] Unlike earlier formations, the "Union" that was recently established incorporates more formations. It includes political parties and trade unions, as well as professional and students associations. This particularly broad participation serves the aim for which this "Union" was set up—namely, to seek pertinent solutions and the best possible political and economic alternatives for Romania, so that it may emerge from the current moral and economic crisis.

[Vasiliu] How does "'New Romania' National Union" propose to act in the political area?

[Mateescu] I have to say that within the framework of this comprehensive alliance we have created a body which, we hope, will turn into a complex and effective instrument in our country's political life: Rallying extraparliamentary parties. Its immediate objectives are: the right to observer status in Romania's Parliament, the right to effectively participate in the activity of prefects offices and mayoralties, and the right to present its political and economic solutions and alternatives in the mass media (beginning on 15 October we have this right for television). In this sense, I want to mention that the extraparliamentary parties propose to form a national unity government in the near future as a credible alternative at the national and international level.

[Vasiliu] How is this extraparliamentary group going to function?

[Mateescu] Its continuity will be ensured through the existence and action of a permanent commission comprised of representatives from all political parties which joined it. This commission will also incorporate competent specialists from the most varied areas: lawyers, sociologists, economists, psychologists and so forth, who will take concerted action to implement the targets of this organization's program. This commission will constantly be involved in pursuing the situation of the economy, the privatization process, the political situation, and social developments by facilitating with its own means the development of small enterprises and trade and by paving the way to a competent market economy that can compete and is guaranteed by the efficient development of big industry.

[Vasiliu] What are your long-term objectives?

[Mateescu] It is difficult to firmly outline something in the distant future which depends on political, social, and economic developments, because this means forecasting things.

We can say, however, that we want to cooperate with the members of the National Salvation Front—who promote a moderate policy—in an effort to jointly seek viable solutions and scenarios which will benefit the future of our country. We are open to any political partner desiring to contribute to establishing genuine democracy in Romania. We favor the cultivation of respect for the human being, for justice and the law by recognizing and honoring work and ownership. This is, in general terms, the framework within which we want to carry out our work in the not too distant future, but also in the more distant one.

Roman Interviewed on Economic Reform Measures

AU0811100790 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Nov 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Viktor Meier in Bucharest; date not given: "Romania's Government Takes Economic Reform Seriously"]

[Text] Bucharest, 6 November—The shops in Romania are empty; except for basic foodstuffs, there is hardly anything to buy at the moment. The stores that carry normal goods as well as luxuries and semi-luxuries are also empty; by "mediation" of the staff, the goods from the stores often did not even reach the shops. Before the prices were liberalized—or as is now being said, before economic reform was initiated—people bought everything at the old prices. The new prices for luxuries and semi-luxuries, which are not currently in supply, have increased twofold or even threefold. The prices for basic foodstuffs—for heating, electricity, and rent—have remained the same. The government says that, in this way, the so-called "social minimum" for this winter is guaranteed; unrest can be avoided. As a compensation—which, however, does not offset price increases—every employee receives 750 lei from the state every month, and every pensioner 400 lei. The average income in Romania is about 3,000 lei.

In the interview, Prime Minister Roman, the initiator of this economic reform, does not expect the situation to "normalize" soon. Even though the higher prices are supposed to stimulate the enterprises' production and sales efforts, Roman doubts whether managers and employees are taking that into account. He said that it is hard to find efficient managers for the 4,000 enterprises in the country, and it is almost impossible to find managers who understand something about finances. He said that, for a long time, the Parliament prevented a decree which would have allowed dismissing unqualified managers; both the opposition and the governing National Salvation Front [FSN] rejected such a decree. Two days ago, Parliament gave in. Nevertheless, qualified people have yet to be found, said Roman. "We have forgotten how to think," says Roman. He adds that talks are also being held with the trade unions. It seems that the first wave of dissatisfaction inthe country has been stopped.

Roman has placed considerable hope in the quick development of a private trade network whereby demand is channeled to the enterprises and will then trigger "supply." He says that in a second stage, the enterprises will then be motivated to make investments as required by the market. Roman believes that foreign investors could then be included in the form of joint ventures because the new prices would offer the possibility of profits. He says that, in the future, services should be solely private. It is obvious that there is currently no supply; therefore, negotiations on the new prices are taking place between state organizations, production enterprises, and state-run trade businesses. In most cases, a minister is present. The enterprises are supposed to organize their relations soon, including the sale of raw materials and other supplies.

For all the problems, the Romanian prime minister is already seeing a "light at the end of the tunnel." He says that agriculture started producing again last summer at reasonable prices. He says that the government program gives collective farms and their members total freedom regarding the course they want to pursue; any form of association is possible, as is the option to resign from such collective farms, which involves taking the land that was brought in at that time.

Roman says that the sore spot now is power production. Many power plants are technically obsolete because in the last 15 years of the Ceausescu regime, virtually no new investments were made in this area. Roman admits that many plants have been poorly maintained ever since the Army stopped running the power plants. He says that Romania's balance of payments was balanced in August and September; however, then the higher oil prices brought on by the Gulf crisis upset everything. He says that Romania reqiures 24 million tonnes of oil every year for its developed petrochemical industry. It only produces 9 million itself. Roman says that, contrary to initial concerns, foreign business has a major interest in the considerable petrochemical capacities which would be fully functioning, if the required oil supply were ensured.

Prime Minister Roman and his government, which largely consists of younger experts, have carried out this economic reform without showing any major regard for political side-effects. Even President Ion Iliescu has apparently found this approach a bit too tough. He has not commented much on these measures. This has brought the relatively young prime minister politically to the foreground; he appears as a tough and resolute politician on his own behalf, and no longer as Iliescu's right arm. The government has also clearly freed itself from the governing FSN. In response to the opposition, which speaks about "precipitous" and "too fast" steps, Roman said that energetic reforms were discussed for six months now, and it was time to let words be followed by deeds. He said that even people in the West reproached the Romanian Government for being opposed to the market economy. He said that now these critics have been set right. Regarding reforms, Romania was possibly one of the leading countries in the former East, Roman told the opposition. He added that rather than being confronted with criticism, he would prefer to be presented with an alternative. A single alternative plan was presented under which enterprises would have been subjected to a sort of self-management comparable to Yugoslavia. In the privatization process which is being started now, however, the government intends to transfer no more than 30 percent of the company assets to the workers in the form of holdings.

Roman is aware that his political fate is connected with the success of the reform. He says that he will not give in to criticism or obstacles. Unlike the opposition, he believes that the present moment is favorable for reform. He says that it is necessary to use the opportunity, now that agricultural policy shows results and the external trade situation is "relaxed." Romania, however, will require help, he says. At the initiative of the United States, the "Group of 24" has again adopted a negative stance on aid for Romania, even though 18 countries from this body were in favor, he says. Roman says that Romania has shown that it intends to start putting things into practice, and the other countries should take that into account, both on principle and particularly regarding the energy problems this winter.

Roman Message on World Quality Day

AU0711184190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1542 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—To win the justified confidence of home buyers and of potential foreign customers one needs a strategy wherein quality is a national priority, shows the Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman's message on the world quality day.

The government is determined and ready, the message shows inter alia, to give the necessary support both to economic agents, who are firm in promoting competitiveness through quality, and to consumers. Furthermore, we shall work to correctly correlate quality to prices. An essential role is to be played by a neutral and independent body, acknowledged as such by trading partners, to certify the quality of products. Its role will be essential from the point of view of both consumers and the promotion of Romanian exports.

Finance Ministry Official on Exports, Taxation

AU0711172690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1521 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—A tax is levied on 37 products when they are exported in a move to protect the national economy and raise obstacles to the outflow of raw materials or manufactures in high demand on the home and foreign markets, says Florian Bercea, secretary of state at the ministry of finance, in an interview with the daily ADEVARUL.

Taxes range from one up to ten percentage of the price of such commodities as raw wood, timber, PVC materials and other high energy consumers as glassware, earthenware, man-made fiber and yarn, pigments, and automotive spare parts.

The Ministry of Finance, said the secretary of state, may grant tax exemptions for the manufactures intended for export if there is an interest to promote their sales abroad.

Sapinta Mayor's Trial Ruling Postponed

AU0711215190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2046 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—The trial of the Sapinta mayor, Toader Stetca, was resumed in Brasov on November 7. Two of the summoned witnesses were absent, namely Augustin Botis, member of parliament, and Colonel Lupu. Therefore, in order to speed up the trial, the defense counsels proposed, and the prosecution agreed, that Nicolae Iuga, former vice president of the Baia Mare county's Provisional National Unity Council, be heard as a witness. The prosecution's conclusions underscored its opinion that the defendant is guilty of violent assault and must therefore be convicted. But taking into account the fact that Mayor Stetca's presence in Sapinta has a calming influence, the prosecution showed that the sentence must not take him away from his commune.

The two counsels for the defense upheld the defendant's innocence, affirmed that the trial was a frame-up, and asked for his release, showing that the doubts resulting from the evidence are another argument in his favor.

Pleading not guilty, the defendant said he had nothing to reproach himself in his life or activity, not even the mistake of having hurt someone's feelings.

In order to study the new evidence, the court postponed the ruling for Monday, November 12.

AFP Report on Young Criminals Refuted

AU0711190990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1830 GMT 7 Nov 90

["Social Life: Distortion of Truth and Disinformation of Public Opinion"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/11/1990—The jails AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE refers to are special work and rehabilitation schools and not "rehabilitation and work centers", as the communique of the International Human Rights Federation erroneously shows, reads a press release from the Ministry of the Interior in connection with a news item cast on November 1 by AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE under the heading "Jails for Minors in Romania."

Interned in these schools are minors who committed extremely serious criminal offenses murder, death-inflicting blows, serious bodily damage, theft, rape and were passed by a court of law with a deprivation-of-freedom sentence, the press release shows.

According to regulations in force, the respective schools allow children to continue their studies, according to the same documents and organizational norms and principles underlying the instructional process in the system of the Ministry of Education and Science. They are vocationally trained and they take part in multifarious cultural and educational activities under the guidance of specialty staff (psychologists, pedagogues.)

The minors may be visited by their families weekly, they may get weekly parcels, they may leave school during holidays and on the occasion of family events. They also benefit from subscriptions for various publications and have unhampered access to radio and television broadcasts.

Owing to living conditions in work and rehabilitation schools, minors develop normally. All measures that violate human dignity are avoided so that the children's social integration after their serving their sentences may be secured.

As a matter of fact, the French Antenne-2 TV crew, who did a feature on the same school, that was also visited by representatives of the International Human Rights Federation, noted a state of affairs different from the one depicted in the communique of the Federation. Relevant in this respect what Mr. Michel Onoril, head of the TV crew, wrote in the school's visitor's book: "I could see young man and women who seem finely treated and correctly trained so that they may reintegrate into Romanian society, leaving moral suffering behind."

It is surprising to note the lack of objectivity shown by the International Human Rights Federation mission that visited Romania late October as well as the tendentious manner in which Agence France Press reports the news.

In conclusion the press release shows: have to do with distortion of the truth and disinformation of public opinion, which only disseminates confusion and offers a distorted image of realities in Romania. [sentence as received]

Federal Official on Arms Development Successes

LD0711162890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Nikinci, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has not exported any arms or equipment to Iraq since the outbreak of the crisis in the Gulf. All work projects have been stopped and most workers have returned home.

This was stated today by Milos Bejatovic, a director in the federal directorate for trade and reserves of special designation products, to a group of journalists who, on the occasion of its 20th anniversary, were visiting the permanent weaponry, military equipment and military engineering exhibition in the Srem village of Nikinci. [passage omitted]

Most of the weaponry and military equipment, about 85 percent, is the product of domestic technology, said Lieutenant Colonel Filipovic, in charge of the permanent exhibition, adding that the solutions allowed under the license are enriched by domestic solutions. Illustrating this point, he quoted the example of "Strela 2 M", a self-guided missile for targetting low-flying aircraft, into which our experts have built our domestic electronics and thus increased its efficiency by one third.

For the visitors, the most interesting items from the technical and technological point of view are the "Cz 99" pistol, an exceptionally successful combination of pistol and revolver, which obtained maximum assessment marks during the most stringent tests throughout the world; multibarrel mortars; and the "T-84" tank, which in capability and combat characteristics has been ranked among the top products of its kind in the world.

Government Stresses Federal Constitution, Laws

LD0711192390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government will take every necessary measure, including the "most radical" ones, to secure respect for the federal Constitution and federal regulations, Undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat for Finances Milan Zikelic told a press conference today.

Zikelic did not wish to explain what the radical measures would include. He merely said that the measures would be known "if the federal government is forced to apply them."

The government is following the regular procedure for [words indistinct], assistant in the Fedeal Government Secretariat for Legislature Stanko Susnjar told reporters today that the Yugoslav Constitutional Court has, at the initiative of the federal government, launched a procedure to determine the constitutionality and legality of the regulations and laws adopted by some republics.

There are 20 laws adopted by the Republic of Slovenia, eight laws and three regulations by the Republic of Serbia, and one regulation adopted by the parliament of the Republic of Croatia.

The federal government, Zikelic said today, will not permit any federal unit to willfully withold and spend funds which belong to the federal budget, since this would block the financing of the army, the undeveloped parts of the country, social programs, and (?the operation) of the federation would be jeopardized.

The Federal Secretariat for Information published a comment in the Belgrade daily BORBA today in which it accuses the republican natiocracies [as received] wanting to bring about the fall of Prime Minister Ante Markovic's government and stop the changes initiated by it.

"Serbia does this by preventing the functioning of a united market and the introduction of various barriers," the secretariat said, "Slovenia by annulling federal laws...Croatia by stopping the transformation of ownership." And they are all doing this because they claim the others are taking advantage of them, the secretariat comments.

Executive Council Assails Paper's Criticism

LD0711184190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1553 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—Through the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] Secretariat for Information, the FEC has sent an open letter to "POLITIKA EKSPRES." Judging by the content of the letter, this unusual approach to a public information medium has taken place because of "impudent criticism of the federal government based on misinformation and disparagement of the government and its president, which in recent days has reached a climax in disregard of the ethics of public statements, the code of behavior for members of the journalistic profession, material truth, and human dignity."

The picture of the Yugoslav prime minister which "POLITIKA EKSPRES" is offering to its readers equals that of "the number one enemy of Serbia and Yugoslavia." This one-sided and untrue picture of the FEC and of the Yugoslav prime minister, in common with unilateral decisions taken in some republics in defiance of the Constitution and federal laws, leads to the same objective: to undermine the policy implicit in the program of economic and social reforms. This is stressed in the open letter addressed to "POLITIKA EKSPRES" signed by the FEC Secretariat for Information.

Macedonian Political Parties' Profiles Printed

AU0711212090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3-4 Nov 90 p 3

[N. Batkoski report: "Who Is Running in the Elections"]

[Text] According to information of the republican commission for elections, 14 political parties will take part in the elections in Macedonia and compete for seats in the republican parliament. The parties nominated more than 1,000 candidates for 120 deputy seats.

League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation (Peter Gosev)

The party is offering to the electorate all three options concerning Macedonia's status in Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and Europe, but judging by everything, considers the confederal setup of Yugoslavia the most realistic option at present. As regards the economy, the party is in favor of a market economy and a selective acceptance of foreign capital in the Macedonian economy.

Alliance of Reform Forces for Macedonia (Stojan Andov)

The alliance takes the view that the reforms that have already been started and, despite blockades, implemented, will break all political barriers and resolve confrontations among the republican leaderships. The alliance will also offer a special economic program for surmounting the crisis in Macedonia. The alliance guarantees the sovereignty of Macedonia in a federal Yugoslavia.

Socialist Party-Socialist Alliance of Working People (Kiro Popovski)

Macedonia should enter Europe together with other Yugoslav peoples. The party is in favor of the European type of socialism and of the market economy.

Social Democrats (Dr. Slavko Milosavlevski)

Three functions should be transferred to the federation: the macroeconomic and monetary policy, defense affairs, and the foreign policy. As regards the economy, the social democrats propose a pragmatic program in the spirit of Western European social democracy. They support the incipient reforms of Ante Markovic whose program they consider essentially social democratic.

Workers Party (Krste Jankovski)

The party devotes most attention to the current questions concerning the transformation of social property. It does not agree with the currently offered solutions according to which social property should be purchased through shares, but proposes that those employed in enterprises be immediately and without any compensation made the owners of the shares of their enterprises. The party accepts the fact that banks' investments in enterprise should also be turned into share capital.

Party for Democratic Prosperity of Tetovo (Nevzat Halili)

The party strives for a confederal status of Macedonia in Yugoslavia, it wants Macedonia to be a state of all citizens. It strives for the equality of all peoples and nationalities. Members of minorities should have the right to education in their own language from the primary school to university.

Party of Yugoslavs (Dr. Milan Djuricin)

The party supports the confederal concept of Yugoslavia. As regards the economy, it supports the reforms started by Ante Markovic.

League for Democracy (Dr. Djordji Marjanovic)

The league considers itself a bourgeois party and insists on the implementation of the rule-of-law state concept. Yugoslavia should survive as a community. As for the economy, the party favors a market economy and supports the incipient reforms.

MAAK—Movement for all-Macedonian Action (Dr. Gane Todorovski)

The movement has left all options concerning Macedonia's status open. As for the economy, the movement wants to attract foreign capital to Macedonia and strives for the economic independence of the republic. The movement also wants Macedonia to have its own diplomats in the countries which Macedonia is interested in.

Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity (Ljupco Georgievski)

The party strives for the spiritual and territorial unification of Macedonia, for Macedonia's diplomatic corps, and the Macedonian army. As concerns the economy, the party stresses the possibility of inviting foreign capital investment by Macedonian emigres, and indicates that it may order an economic program from foreign experts.

Peoples Party of Macedonia (Vladimir Stefanovski)

The party favors a confederal Yugoslavia in which Macedonia will have open borders toward Greece, Albania, and Bulgaria. As regards the economy, the party promises cheap administration and will allow foreign investments.

Peasant-Workers Party (Dr. Dimitar Galev)

The party is based in Strumica. It strives for a confederal Yugoslavia and, in the more distant future, for a Macedonia integrated in borderless Europe. In the economy, the party promises to invest in the development of agriculture and strives for the conduct of business activities based on market principles.

Expected Problems in Macedonian Elections Viewed

LD0711175890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1324 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—The young Macedonian parliamentary democracy to be inaugurated by the first multi-party elections in the history of this southernmost Yugoslav republic next week could experience serious temptations already at the outset—the election of the republican head of state.

Twenty or so days after the new 120-seat single-chamber parliament (narodno sobranie) was constituted, the republican president and vice-president would be elected by a two-thirds majority at the proposal of at least twenty deputies.

Observers believe a parliamentary crisis was possible because the candidates were given equal chances and because it was likely to be hard to attain the needed majority. Thus the committments of the voters at the parliamentary elections set for November 11 for candidates of 16 parties would exert an indirect bearing on the choice for republican president.

So far, the long-standing federal official Kiro Gligorov, the Yugoslav ambassador in Iraq, Stojan Andov, the Yugoslav State Presidency member, Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, and former prominent politician later removed from the political scene, Krste Crvenkovski, were being mentioned as candidates for republican president.

The candidacy of an independent and one of the most famous and craftiest Yugoslav managers in the world of sports and music, Vladimir Dzaroski, is the only certain one. Dzaroski has promised that if he were elected he would make a world known air port and tourist metropolis of the town Ohrid on the lake of the same name.

Kiro Gligorov (73), president of the Assembly of Yugoslavia in the 70s, is mentioned as candidate of the League of Communist of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation (LCM-PDT). Gligorov was one of the men behind the 1965 Yugoslav reform, which was abandoned three years later due to bureaucratic resistance and after a wave of student demonstrations. He was one of the economic advisers of the Yugoslav prime minister, Ante Markovic. This is one of the reasons behind a certain mood of uneasiness among the Macedonia (ARFM) [Alliance of Reform Forces—SRS]] was most likely to nominate its own candidate, Yugoslav ambassador to Iraq Stojan Andov, who returned for a vacation. Andov (55), president of the ARFM was member of the federal government and is thought to be a champion of market economy. However, both Andov and the LCM-PDT officials leave the door open for election cooperation of the two "reformist" parties.

Dr Vasil Tupurkovski is being mentioned as a possible candidate of the Socialist Party-Socialist Alliance of the Working People, which urges Macedonia's integrating into Europe jointly with the other Yugoslav republics, European-type socialism and market economy. Tupurkovski (39), who has an M.A. in law from the Michigan University and holds a doctorate in international law, is not backed by the strongest party, but is among the most influential figures in the republic.

The Social-Democratic Party of Macedonia would like to see Krste Crvenkovski (69) back to Macedonia's political life. Crvenkovski was, together with the undisputed "number one" in post-war Macedonia, Lazar Kolisevski, was "alpha et omega" in the republic until the early 70s. After holding the posts of member and vice-president of the Yugoslav State Presidency, He quietly disappeared suspected of "liberalism." This "liberalism," seen today as essentially of the social-democratic European type, was urged by the party the forming of which Crvenkovski helped and which could possibly nominate him as its candidate.

Macedonian National Unity Front Coalition Formed

LD0711225190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2117 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—Four parties of national commitment in the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia have formed the "Front of Macedonian National Unity," it was announcd at an election meeting in the republic's capital, Skopje, on Wednesday [7 November].

The front comprises the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, the Movement for All-Macedonian Action, the People's Party and the Democratic Alliance-Party of Farmers, party officials said.

Besides national commitment, the four parties have in common advocacy of a Yugoslav confederation, within which Macedonia would have a status of a sovereign state.

The newly-opened coalition should increase the national parties' chances of success at the first post-war multi-party election in Macedonia, scheduled for November 11.

According to the latest public opinion polls, the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation stands the best chance of winning the elections. Following on the list are ethnic Albanians' Democratic Prosperity Party and Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's Alliance of Reformist Forces in Macedonia.

Slovene Presidency Brings Army Issue to Court

LD0711154290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—A proposal to set aside the SFRY Presidency decision on the Fifth Army Area being in control and command of territorial defense in the Republic of Slovenia is the essence of the case brought by the Slovene Presidency before the Yugoslav Constitutional Court. The case was considered during the session of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court today. It was decided to send a letter to the Slovene Presidency explaining that, according to the Constitutonal Court's rules of procedure, a conflict on the rights and duties between the SFRY and the Slovene Republic cannot be brought up by the Presidency, but only by the Assembly of the socio-political community.

In addition to redefining the case, which by virtue of being put before the Constitutional Court has now entered its procedure, the Slovene Presidency also has to forward the Yugoslav Presidency decision it is challenging. Hrvoje Bacic was today appointed the reporting judge of this case.

The Slovene Presidency has initiated the case on the rights and duties between the SFRY and Slovenia being of the opinion that the law on all-people's defense provides no grounds for transferring the control and command over territorial defense as a whole to the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. The interpretation of the Slovene Presidency is that the law stipulates that as a result of a Presidency decision a single JNA and territorial defense command can be set up only in a specific area, but not in an entire republic.

By passing this decision, the Slovene Presidency believes, the state Presidency has infringed the provisions of the SFRY Constitution whereby in consonance with our defense system each republic has the right and duty to regulate and organize national defense and control territorial defense on its territory. This is why it has proposed that the Yugoslav Constitutional Court should rule that the SFRY Presidency decisions runs counter to the federal constitution, that in adopting it the state Presidency has overstepped its authority and that the decision be rescinded.

Human Rights Group Assails Serb Security, Police

LD0711173290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1639 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—President of the Human Rights Movement of Yugoslavia Tomislav Krsmanovic said today that the state security service and the police are preventing this opposition party from conducting an election campaign in Serbia.

Krsmunovic told a press conference in Belgrade that his organization does not receive all its mail and that its telephones are being disconnected without explanation, which makes it difficult for the party leadership to communicate with its members and activitists, especially those in the interior of the country.

The movement claims that the authorities in Serbia are responsible for all this, namely, the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (former communists). According to Krsmanovic, this party wants to prevent the human rights movement from presenting to the public "numerous data on persecution and violations of human rights" in the republic and in Yugoslavia.

Krsmanovic announced that the movement intends to join the boycott of the first post-war multi-party elections in Serbia scheduled for December 9 if the recently adopted election law is not amended.

The majority of the Serbian opposition parties want the law changed so as to allow all parties to be represented in the election commissions.

Pucnik on Talks With Serbian Opposition Members

AU0811092390 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Oct 90 p 2

[Veso Stojanov report: "Dr. Pucnik: 'My Motto Is: One Should Leave Yugoslavia as Soon as Possible'"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Oct—After some Slovene leaders made statements recently about Slovenia's attitude toward Yugoslavia and after a Slovene delegation made a visit to representatives of the Serbian opposition in Belgrade yesterday, there has been an impression in the public that Demos [United Opposition] and the Slovene authorities have considerably changed their attitude toward Slovenia's independence and that the idea of confederation has come to the foreground again whereas some leading Demos people pushed their preelection promises about secession and independence of Slovenia to the background.

This is why we asked Dr. Pucnik in a brief conversation we had with him today, whether there is any truth in these rumors. Dr. Pucnik said that before and during the elections, Demos was giving the advantage to one or the other alternative with regard to political interests. However, for more than two months, confederation has been showing itself to be a completely impossible solution to the relations within Yugoslavia. One can perhaps reach an agreement with Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, although that option has also become uncertain since the Knin events. In recent times, going alone appears to be better for Slovenia. Our proposal about a confederate setup is more principled, but it seems to us that it will be impossible to carry out, so our advocating a confederation is more of a tactical nature. However, we want to show our willingness to accept a confederation and negotiations on the country's setup. I think that the others are not prepared to accept something like that. After the talks we had with the Serbian opposition yesterday, I think that we must leave Yugoslavia as soon as possible, Dr. Pucnik said.

Here is something about the talks that the Slovene delegation—which, apart from him, included Dr.France Bucar, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, and Dr. Tine Hribar—held with the Serbian opposition yesterday.

"The talks in Belgrade were tolerant and civil. It has turned out, however, that the Serbian opposition's stands about Yugoslavia's setup are very clearly established and that differences between their and our stands are unbridgeable, particularly as regards short-term solutions. The Serbian opposition wants to solve the problem of its national minority in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia first, and therefore it rejects the idea of a confederation. They have two models on how to solve the problem of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia: It is either a kind of a cantonal setup of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia or a rather unitarian federal state, which proceeds from putting the rights of individuals before the rights of the peoples. During our visit to Belgrade we also established that those people had nothing against Slovenia's secession. Finding a solution to Serbian question in Yugoslavia is the most important thing for them," Joze Pucnik said.

Serb Saint Sava Party Presents Election Platform

AU0711200090

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian on 7 November at 0900 GMT, jointly with Belgrade 202, Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, and again at 1600 GMT, jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, and the Serbian radio network, carries programs presenting the Serbian Saint Sava Party, as part of its series of programs entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," presenting the Serbian parties taking part in the upcoming republican elections.

The first program lasts 30 minutes and features Nada Zamirkovic, member of the party's main council, presenting the main elements of the party's program. She describes the party as "a movement of the spiritual renaissance and unification of the Serbian people" which "represents the only and unified national political force which is above all directed toward the religious renewal of Serbs."

Further on, Zamirkovic says that the party "will use solely political means" to fight for, among other things, the de-ideologization of state organs, the professionalization of the Army, the return of confiscated property to the church and political and other organizations, the scrapping of all artificial privileges, a free and independent judiciary, a free and independent church, a free and independent press, free trade and market economy, the formation of free trade unions, free education, the protection of marriages and families, independent foreign policy, a healthy environment, and the resolution of the Serbian issue.

The second program lasts for one hour and features members of the party's main council replying to questions put by an unidentified moderator.

In reply to a question on the position of Serbia in a future Yugoslavia, an identified speaker says that the party "is in favor of a Yugoslavia of equal peoples" which will not be a "tomb for Serbianism." He adds that the present Yugoslavia does not have the legitimacy of the people, but nevertheless advocates a federal structure for the country.

For the rest of the program, the party representatives expound on certain aspects of the party's program with emphasis on Serbia and the importance of religion.

League of Vojvodina Social Democrats Presented

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[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian on 7 November at 1600 GMT together with Novi Sad and Pristina radio stations and Serbian Radio Network carries a 60-minute program, a part of the series entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990," in which two representatives of the League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina, Ivan Vojnovic, member of the Executive Committee, and Vladimir Kranjcevic, secretary, are presenting their party.

After a brief introduction by an unidentified moderator, Kranjcevic says that the League of Social Democrats was formed at the beginning of August this year and that it has "nearly 4,000 members." About the party's aims, he says that "we are fighting against any nationalism, against the use of power with a view to restricting the freedom of individuals, against threats to privacy and private property, against smoldering entrepreneurial spirit by poor taxation policy, against political tutelage over culture and art, against political and any other misuse of the media, against school systems unsuitable to the needs of a modern society, against police serving as a means for political settling of accounts, against [word indistinct] to undermine the complete life of society, and against a single-party political system."

Kranjcevic then gives a lengthy list of principles the party is fighting for which includes: a Yugoslavia founded upon natural bases of togetherness, a democratic Republic of Serbia, a Vojvodina whose fate will be decided by its citizens, and the Yugoslav economic program of Ante Markovic's Government.

Further on in the program, Ivan Vojnovic speaks on the history of the social democratic movement and he and Kranjcevic elaborate on the party's aims concerning economy, social policy, and other issues.

Replying to the mediator's question concerning the issue of the future setup of Yugoslavia, Vojnovic says that they "do not insist upon a definite choice between federation and confederation. We are very liberal there, although our party officially supports federation because we think that it is the best social form which will enable us to join certain world currents."

Milosevic on Economic Growth at Bridge Ceremony

AU0711192490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 NOv 90

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia, inaugurated the beginning of the construction of a bridge across the Sava River at Ostruznica, which is a section of the Dobanovci-Bubanj Potok highway. The end of the Belgrade bypass is 37 km long and is expected to be finished in five years time. The construction will cost about $400 million. Dusica Jovanovic has the details:

[Begin recording] [Jovanovic] The bridge across the Sava, which has access roads which are 1,790 meters long, is the most expensive part of the future highway around Belgrade. It will cost $127 million. All funds for the construction of this part of the trans-Yugoslav highway were provided by the road fund of Serbia and the European Investment Bank in Luxembourg with a 20-year loan of $120 million. According to Milenko Gvozdencevic, director of the road fund of Serbia, this is the largest amount that has ever been allocated for such a project.

The bridge builders and guests were welcomed by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of Serbia:

[Milosevic] Comrades: Today, the beginning of (?work on) and construction of the Bubanj Potok-Dobanovci highway starts the realization of one of the most significant investment projects in the economic program of the development of Serbia. Together with the [word indistinct] of the highway toward the Hungarian border, this road will represent part of one of the most important European transport arteries and the only highway which Europe has toward the Near and Middle East.

From the North to the South of Serbia, in a direction over which empires have fought throughout the centuries, the construction of this highway will establish a strong developmental axis for the whole conglomeration of the new programs which, because of their value and the number of new work places they will create, will far outstrip the value of the highway and the north-south project. Herein lies its primary importance, because its construction should cause some kind of chain reaction of positive changes in the economic structure of our republic.

Our economic program is directed at new investments, at aggressive development, and at new work places, but our economic program is also its own kind of race with time. Serbia must develop quickly if it wants to make up for what has been lost, if it wants to catch up with developed countries, and if it wants to fall into step with a newer and richer world and the approaching century.

Therefore, I think that it is our duty to leave this country to the generations which will succeed us—to our children—as a country which will be richer, happier, and more just than when we inherited it from previous generations. This is the duty of every generation. This is the least that is expected of us and that we are obliged to do.

We expect that all of you who had the honor and responsibility to initiate and realize this great task, will carry this out successfully and without one day's delay. This is also the expectation of your families, the citizens of Serbia, and your republic. It is on the republic's behalf that I greet you and wish you much success. [end recording]

Let us add that the Belgrade bypass was designed by the Institute for Roads in the capital city and the builders are the Jugoslavija Put and Energoprojekt firms.

Montenegro Critical of Federal Action on Reserves

LD0711224890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2055 GMT 7 Nov 90

[Text] Titograd, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—Vice-Premier of Yugoslavia's Republic of Montenegro Blagoje Lucic on Wednesday [7 November] criticized the federal government for hesitating to recommend to the federal parliament the allocation of a part of the country's foreign exchange reserves, now running at about ten billion dinars, for economic development.

Where does so much avoidance of such a move come from when all economic reasons for the engagement of foreign exchange reserves exist, asked Lucic in the Montegrin parliament.

He described the economic policy conducted at the federal level as one of the reasons why the Montenegrin economy is in an alarming condition. Other reasons lie in the weaknesses in Montenegrin firms, with their lack of commercial thinking and entrepreneur conduct, and in the former wrong concept of the republic's development with an emphasis on the capital intensive industries.

In criticizing the federal economic policy, Lucic stressed that measures which were to soften the negative impact of restrictive economic [word indistinct] failed to materialize. Noting that, due of the impossibility of reaching agreement at the federal level, financial resources from the fund for the underdeveloped republics—one of whose beneficiaries is also Montenegro—had ceased to arrive, Lucic criticized the federal government for advocating a legal state while failing to insist on a consistent implementation of federal laws.